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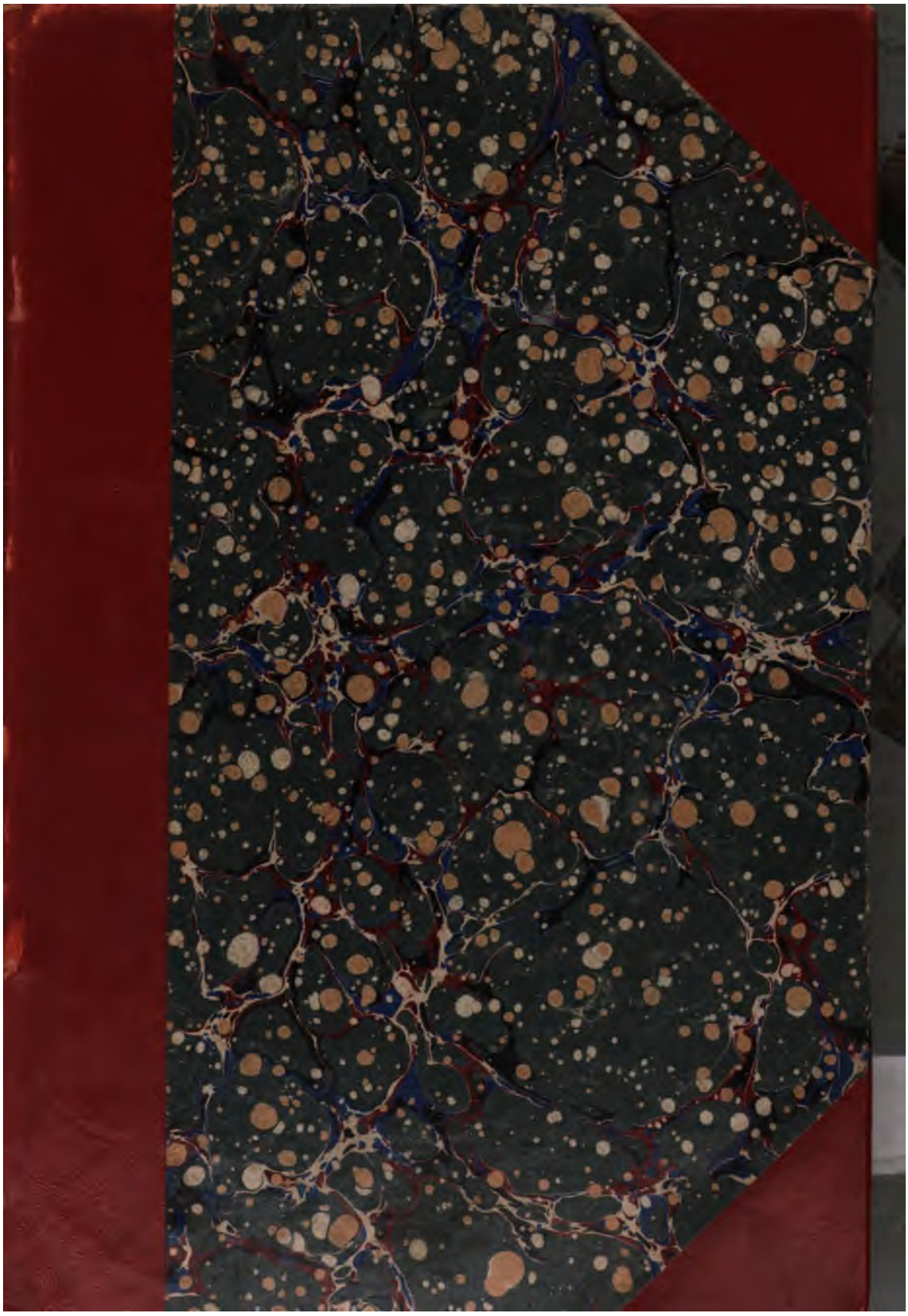

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

JOSEPH SWAIN

PRESIDENT INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Delivered June 14, 1893

AT THE

ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT OF INDIANA UNIVERSITY

No. 1

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

JOSEPH SWAIN

PRESIDENT INDIANA UNIVERSITY

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INDIANAPOLIS
CARLON & HOLLENBECK
1893

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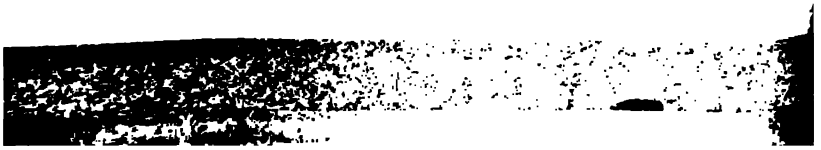
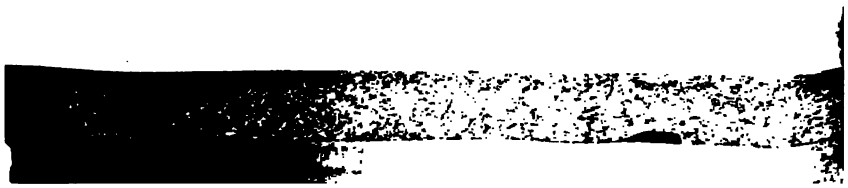


ADDRESS.

I am sensible of the great honor bestowed upon me by our honorable Trustees in electing me to the presidency of Indiana University. I should never have sought the position to which I come to-day. I may well shrink from the responsibilities it imposes, but if it is right that I should be here, and if all the friends of the University give the institution their sympathetic co-operation, with divine guidance, I trust there will come that strength which the work demands.

To return to my native state in which I have a just pride; to my *Alma Mater*, an institution which I have loved with a filial devotion; to the faculty which I have known and honored; to the alumni which each year are increasing in number and influence; to the students for whom the University exists; to the city of Bloomington, for twelve years my home; to the people who have treated me with uniform kindness and whose friendship I cherish; and to all the friends of the University; this is indeed a pleasure. Nevertheless, I now accept the trust which you give into my keeping, with an even keener appreciation of the duties it imposes, than of the honor you bestow, or of the pleasures which I feel on my return. But with the determination and inspiration which come from a sense of this "high calling," be my stay long or short, I shall work as if I were to remain for a lifetime, and I ask you all to give me your hearty, undivided, and continued support.

A state university is indeed a public trust, and sooner or later the people of the state will see to it that this University is built "higher and broader and deeper" than any ideal which we may



now contemplate. It is well that Leland Stanford and John D. Rockefeller devote their millions to the building of great universities, but were there such an endowed institution in every state in the Union, it would only strengthen and not retard the growth of the State University. The efficiency of the University of California has increased more within the past two years than within any other period of the same length in its history. This is not only manifest in the increased number of its students, but in the improvement and breadth of its work. Thus, the establishment of Stanford University has not only given California a new institution, but it has at the same time been of great service to the State University. In turn the State University is necessary to the highest development of the newer institution, and the efficient work of the former has made the latter possible. Likewise in this state every seat of learning is strengthened by the growth of the State University. Besides, the dignity and self-respect of a state is lost when it depends wholly upon denominational institutions, or upon institutions endowed by private munificence, however excellent in character they may be. In time to come the people of the state will feel that this University is their own in a yet more special sense, and they will provide for it more abundantly. In contributing to the maintenance and growth of the State University we not only make better every high school in the state, and therefore the common schools, but every step of the University in advance compels like steps in the other colleges and private schools of the state. The good results of the changes in the curriculum in this University, which were made eight years ago, are evident not only in the higher institutions of learning in this state, and consequently in the lower schools, but these changes have had a beneficial effect on other institutions of learning outside the state, as well. In like manner every advance made in other universities or colleges is helpful to us. Let denominational and private seats of learning rise and flourish. Each has its purpose and results. In most states, however, we shall expect most from a

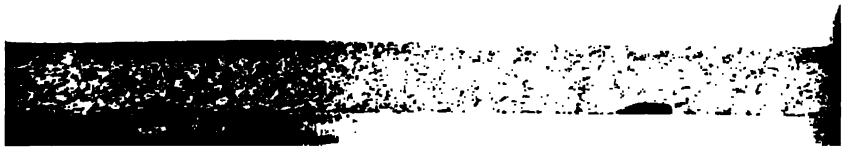
university endowed by two millions of people, and especially in a state such as this where its wealth is almost equally distributed.

While a state university is peculiarly the child of the state and must be watched and guarded and fostered by it, its immediate guardians must be its trustees. And who are these trustees? These are its Board, its Faculty, its Alumni, its students, and such citizens of the state and friends of the University as acquaint themselves with its highest purposes and aims.

The Board and the Faculty are by their relation to the University pledged to do everything in their power to promote the growth of the institution until it shall meet every demand of a growing state. In no other institution which I know has there been more self-sacrifice on the part of these bodies, and so much done with the same means, as in this. No great institution can be built if men stop to ask, "What will be my reward for this work?"

I feel sure that however deserving and loyal other men may have been it will not be unfitting to mention two—one of the Board of Trustees who a year ago passed to his reward, with the love of a grateful community. Dr. James D. Maxwell, in his fidelity, his unswerving self-sacrifice day after day for a long and useful lifetime, is a type of such men as have made Indiana University possible. The other to whom I refer is Daniel Kirkwood. The learning, the wisdom, the manhood, the unselfish devotion to an ideal in life as well as in scholarship, of this beloved and great man, now far advanced in years—these are a heritage to the institution, the magnificence and proportions of which words can merely suggest. Here and now our Board and Faculty may well dedicate themselves anew to the further achievement of those high ends for which these men have spent their lives.

The Alumni are in a special sense trustees of this University. In half a century the institution has sent out many of the strongest men which the state possesses. Our graduates are found engaged in every worthy pursuit. "By their achievements they are commending their dear mother, not only for the mental dis-



cipline she gave them, but for the brave, earnest, manly spirit which by her free methods and by the character of her teachers she has nourished in them."* Fellow Alumni, the University must be judged by the work it does. As its debtors, as its product and as men who stand for the welfare of the state, we must not be content to rest on past achievements and present laurels, but we must see to it that means are provided by which this, our *Alma Mater*, may become the ideal, the "People's University." We by our past and present knowledge are not only in touch with the University, but by our widely diverging pursuits and by our geographical distribution, are acquainted with the needs and wants of the state. It is ours to keep alive a love of the arts and sciences among the masses; to see that the University keeps pace with the needs of the state; to do all in our power to give the University that substantial support which shall insure to her the best library, the best laboratories, the best men. We can afford nothing but the *best*, in our *Alma Mater*.

Students of the University, but for you none of us would be here. It is for your needs, and it is to develop the possibilities within you that the University exists. In affording you the advantages of higher education the state is in no sense making you a gift. It invests its capital in you as the cheapest and best means of protecting itself. The nations of the earth have in the past spent their hard earned millions in the support of standing armies, but we in the United States are beginning to see that our millions must be spent in making men and women. If this institution equips you as you should be, and gives you the armor which fits you to battle with life, we recognize that "you will cultivate this public sentiment in favor of the University which will find its expression in ample endowments and crowded halls."

It has been well said that this University is as the "apple of its eye" to the city of Bloomington. Its citizens are in an important sense trustees of the University. To them is entrusted for

*Angel.

four years the care of the young men and the young women who take a course in this institution. It is for us to see that our city is the best place in the world for these young men and women, a place where those exalted principles of life, which are the possession of every really educated man and women, are *known* and *lived* up to. As another has well said: "To use the phrase which the lips of Lincoln have made commonplace, the University is of the people, for the people, by the people. Of the people, in its establishment, in its recognized place through legislation. They are its organizers and upholders. For the people in its very existence; it is originated, built up, maintained, for them. By the people, in its administration."* The people elect the legislature, the legislature provides means for the appointment of the Board, the Board selects the faculty. As that portion of the people nearest the University and who have the best opportunity to know its condition and needs, the citizens of Bloomington have a special and an emphatic trust. Let us continue to stand for all that is good and true in the life of the University.

To all the friends of the University everywhere, let me say: come join hands and make this what it should be, the ideal university, the University of the state.

"I would found," said Ezra Cornell, "an institution where any person can find instruction in any study." Make this the *best* instruction in any study and we have the ideal university. "Its courses of study would be so broad, so thorough and complete, that no young man or woman of Indiana would need to leave the state to secure the best education the world affords."† Such a university must be modern, democratic, human, and its instruction must be largely individual.

The modern university is the product of modern life. All subjects which can be reduced to a science should have equal attention in its curriculum, and every branch of human inquiry should command its share of the time and attention of university men.

*Kellog. †Jordan.

While it must sacredly "preserve all the treasures of the past, and must not neglect the spirit and refinement of the old-time scholars," it must most of all recognize the demands of the living present, and extend the boundaries of human knowledge by countless pathways into the infinite creations and thoughts of God, in whom these pathways meet.

The State University exists for the state and must therefore be democratic. The young man from the farm, from behind the counter, stands side by side with the son of the minister, the doctor, and the lawyer. In a people's university there can be no aristocracy of trade, profession, or wealth. The only road to high regard and distinction is through the avenue of superior excellence. This avenue is one through which the poor man's son is more likely to pass than the son of the rich man. Poverty in itself has no virtue; but the qualities of mind and heart which have grown while overcoming poverty, and have led the young man to consecrate himself to the highest things, are "more to be desired than gold, yea than much fine gold."

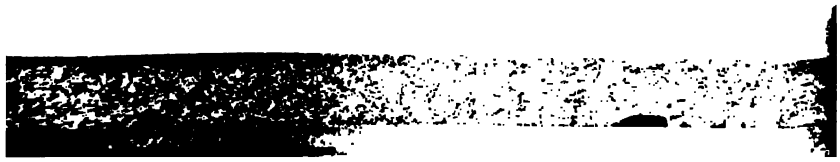
A university must recognize its environment. Yet an institution of learning would be foolish indeed should it accept and promulgate any current theory simply because it is current. To teach either free trade or protection because either is the theory of the party in power, would be unworthy of and wholly contrary to the ideals of the scholar. It should be the duty of the university to examine into every question, industrial, historical, philosophical, political, scientific, which is of present or future interest to the people of the state. To gather together all the facts of experience and the thoughts of the profoundest thinkers on these questions and place before the students and people a scientific treatment of the subject, is of the utmost importance. The safety and progress of the state demand it.

Dr. Jordan once said: "If our work is successful, our ideals will appear in the daily life of the school. In a school as in a fortress, it is not the form of the building, but the strength of the

materials, which determines its effectiveness. With a garrison of hearts of oak, it may not even matter whether there be a fortress. Whatever its form, or its organization, or its pretensions, the character of the university is fixed by the men who teach. 'Have a university in shanties, nay, in tents,' Cardinal Newman has said, 'but have great teachers in it.' The university spirit flows out from these teachers, and its organization serves mainly to bring them together. 'The University,' to use Emerson's words, 'should bring every ray of light to its hospitable walls, that their combined influence may set the heart of the youth in flame.' Strong men make universities strong. A great man never fails to leave a great mark on every youth with whom he comes in contact. Too much emphasis can not be laid on this, that the real purpose of the university organization is to produce a university atmosphere, such an atmosphere as gathered itself around Arnold at Rugby, around Döllinger at Munich, around Linnæus at Upsala, around Werner at Freiburg, around Agassiz at Cambridge, around Mark Hopkins at Williamstown, around White at Ithaca, around all great teachers everywhere."

"The university should be the great refuge hut on the ultimate boundaries of knowledge, from which daily and weekly adventurous bands set out on voyages of discovery. It should be the Upernavik from which polar travelers draw their supplies, and, as the shoreless sea of the unknown meets us on every side, the same house of refuge and supply will serve for a thousand different exploring parties, moving out in every direction into the infinite ocean. This is the university ideal of the future."

Indiana University is not yet the ideal university, but she has the spirit of modern progress. She was one of the first to recognize the equal rights of the sexes, and men have always been upon equal footing within her walls. The fact that nine years ago there were but 156 students in this institution, while this present year there are five hundred and seventy-two, twenty-two of whom are graduate students, but feebly indicates the difference between the



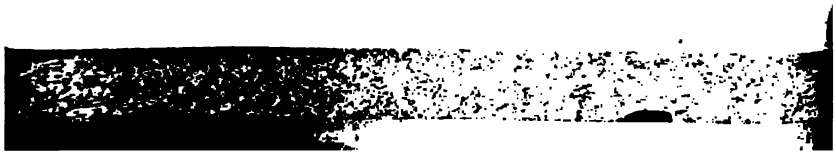
old conditions and the freedom and growth which have come with modern spirit. The adoption of the seminary and laboratory methods in nearly all the departments of the University; the extension of the elective system, enabling a student to select those studies for which nature has given him aptitude, and which are in some way related to his future life; the increased earnestness and greater ambition on the part of our students; the tendency of students to continue for a lifetime work begun in college; the universal desire on the part of teachers and students to extend the boundaries of human knowledge and to send out to the world in some published form the results of their work; the popularization of the University by University Extension and other means; the growing tendency to consider degrees, if given at all, as arbitrary landmarks in one's journey, and nothing for which one should turn aside; the fact that the university student is amenable to the laws of the state and has no privileges which the best citizen would not claim for himself; that it is as much the duty of the student as of the professor to see that no one shall do aught to bring the university into discredit—these facts and tendencies are much more important in the usefulness of the institution than mere numbers. This work is not so much the result of the efforts of any man or set of men as it is the product of the age.

The fact that we in our university life have already reached a high plane makes it possible for us not only to see distinctly the winding valley through which we have passed, but compels us to look up and beyond to the great ridge of the mountain which lies before us, inviting us to its ascent. Our present vantage ground gives us an intimation of the possibilities before us, and having ascended the foot-hills and gained the first ridge of the mountain we can never rest content until we have scaled to yet more and more exalted heights this mountain of university progress.

The needs of the University are appearing on every side. While she stands in the front rank among state universities her needs are manifold and imperative, if we are to retain the vantage ground

which we now have. That $50,000 were given by our last legislature for a new building and our annual appropriation increased by $10,000, notwithstanding adverse circumstances, shows a friendly relation to and a faith in the University on the part of the state. With an income of about $80,000 we can do more next year than during any previous year of our history, but when we remember that Cornell University, the State University of New York, has an annual income of more than $500,000, the University of California about $350,000, the University of Michigan over $300,000, the University of Wisconsin about $275,000, and each of these institutions, except Cornell, located in a state of less wealth and smaller population than Indiana, we find that we do not yet provide as well for the wants of the State University as do our sister states. No institution anywhere of equal means stands so high among scholars as this. She is always compared with those of much greater wealth. In no university has the income been more wisely expended. Every dollar spent in equipping Indiana University has counted for much more than a dollar in the promotion of civilization in Indiana.

The encouraging lesson from our sister states is this: the greater the development of the higher institutions of learning, the more determination there seems to be on the part of the states to provide still more ample means for their expansion and for increasing their efficiency. In general the growth of this University must first be in the direction of still greater efficiency, and expansion will follow as a consequence. Our teachers now, in common with the teachers of other schools in the state, give too many hours to instruction. No university teacher with modern demands can do his best for three or four consecutive hours in different topics, especially with the more advanced students. If a lawyer should be required to speak three or four hours every day before a jury, his client would soon find it to his interest to go elsewhere and obtain counsel having the time to acquaint himself with the facts bearing on the individual case in hand, then to examine the law in the case and to arrange his arguments. But it is said the teacher



should know what he is going to teach before he begins his work. This is not more true in the case of the teacher than in the case of the lawyer. The possibilities of any subject are infinite and it is the duty of the teacher to open up these possibilities to the student. He who presents this year the same matter in exactly the same manner in which he presented it last year is by so much behind the times. A multitude of workers in every department of inquiry are adding new material and methods of work, and the teacher needs more time to master these and to make excursions of his own. If our instruction is to be the best, the work of the teacher must be largely individual, and this means a reduction in the size of the classes. The lecture has its place, but it is introductory or collateral and not the chief thing. Both the reduction of the number of teaching hours and the reduction of the size of the class, implies additions to our force of instructors. Harvard has to-day a teacher for every nine students.

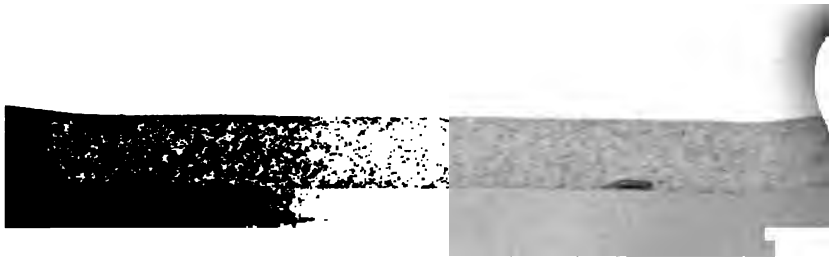
It is becoming well known that Indiana University is a "training school" for professors of more wealthy and larger institutions. No better encomium could be paid to the men who have selected her faculty. It is now recognized that a succession of the best equipped young men is to be preferred to a more permanent corps of instructors who have reached their level at $1,500 a year. Even with our increased income we must still depend on rising young men, but we can at once hold them up to a higher level than the one at which they have been taken from us in the past.

There are general needs of the institution which I may mention here. We need funds to vastly increase at once the facilities of our library. While it is the best working library of its size in the state, it is yet far short of our needs. Anything short of all the available books on any topic is unsatisfactory. No teacher or student can be sure that he is abreast of the times unless he has access to or is familiar with all that has been published in his line of investigation. We need more room and equipment and consequently a greater teaching force for physical training. Systematic

instruction and training in the gymnasium is now recognized to be the natural and necessary accompaniment of the modern university. Athletics should be under the direction of a medical director who is an expert in medical science, who knows the laws of the development of the human body, and who can seize upon and direct the best instincts of college men. In general a sound body is the condition of a sound mind, and physical training is now the outlet for the animal energies of the college man. Wisely directed athletics in the modern university, by giving a legitimate outlet to the student's God-given animal spirits, has done more than any other one thing to eliminate class rows, hazing, vandalism, and other forms of time-worn traditional rowdyism.

When I leave the general needs of the University and turn to the departments I find urgent demands in every direction. While I recognize the perfect equality of departments, it will not be unfitting to illustrate our needs by citing the needs of one. In the department of Physics we need a new laboratory building, additional equipment, and consequently additional instructors. The fact that there is great demand on the part of the High Schools of the state for teachers in physics is reason enough that the University should equip herself for preparing these teachers in the best possible way. But this is only one reason. The training obtained through the use of the best instruments and methods in the modern physical laboratory, carrying delicate experiments to the utmost refinement of accuracy, is inestimable in value in the subsequent work of the student, it matters not in what field it may be. Its wide application to the wants of modern life makes it apply in a special way to the immediate needs of the state.

What I have just said concerning the needs of the department of physics, may, with slight modifications, be justly said concerning many departments now in the University and those that are yet to come. It is for us, the trustees, to make known these wants to the state, and we may depend upon the impetus of every institution



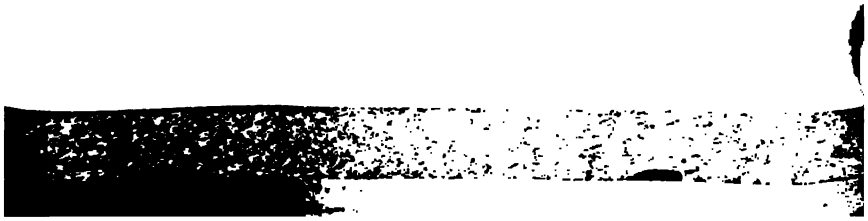
of higher learning and upon the spirit of the age to help us gain one more ledge of the mountain.

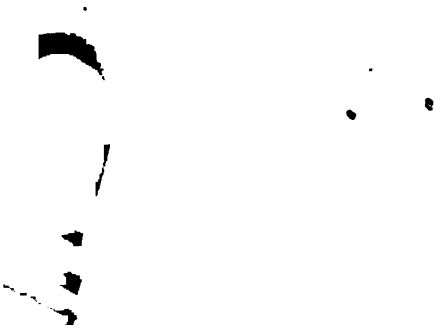
It is as true of institutions as of individuals that the world will help those who have first learned to help themselves. I have already called attention to the devotion of its friends to the University. They have done all in the past that they could. The University must be chiefly maintained by the state, but has not the time come, when we, as do the universities of other states, should receive something from private sources? Cornell University, the State University of New York, owes the greater part of its wealth to private munificence. Henry W. Sage alone gave $1,500,000. There is not only the fortune of Ezra Cornell, but also the magnificent library building, the Young Men's Christian Association building, Sibley College, Sage College, beside other buildings. The endowed department of Philosophy, scholarships and other gifts, are the substantial recognitions by private capital of the worth of that institution. To the University of California was given the Lick Observatory. The gift of a citizen built the assembly hall and endowed the chair of Philosophy, and numerous fellowships testify to the loyalty of friends.

The doctrine that the state universities are to be supported from the treasury of the state is well established, but that it should receive help from every possible source should also be evident. There is ample opportunity in the University for persons of small or large means to do something for higher education in Indiana. A book to the library, a scholarship to help some struggling student, a building in honor of some person, the endowment of a department, while benefiting the coming ages, each would have its place and would not be lost to the individual giving it, in the larger fame of the University. The University would welcome assistance from any quarter in any department whatever. We should do the thing which, in view of all the conditions, we can do best.

And now to our departing President I would say: You with your associates have kept the light burning; you have added fuel

to its flame; you have carried it nearer to the top of the mountain. From its greater elevation it commands a larger horizon. From its intenser brilliancy it shines with a greater luster. Indiana University would have been fortunate indeed to have had you continue to bear her colors from ledge to ledge, but other possibilities and other duties open out before you. May that brilliant success which you have here achieved be even more marked in your new position. We congratulate the university to which you go; you have our friendship and our highest hopes. The prayers of this community are with you. When you come to another milestone in life's journey, may all about you say, as they do here, well done, well done.





ADOLPH SUTRO'S

LETTER

To the Regents of the University of California

AND TO THE

Committee of Affiliated Colleges

ON THE

SELECTION OF A SITE

FOR THE

Affiliated Colleges

No. 2.

SAN FRANCISCO, September 5th, 1895.

To the Regents of the University of California, and to the Committee on the Selection of a Site for the Affiliated Colleges.

GENTLEMEN:—It is fit and proper that at this time I should say a few words in regard to the selection of the site for the Affiliated Colleges of the University of California.

I have offered to the Committee one-half of the original site, selected by me several years ago for the Sutro Library, consisting of 26.369 acres; that is 13.042 acres for the College, and 13.327 acres for the Library.

In making this selection I was guided by the following considerations:

First.—This spot is nearly the geographical center of the City and County of San Francisco, and, as a great public Library is intended not only for the present generation but for many generations to come, we should give due weight to the probable future center of population.

Second.—This site is located within two blocks south of and near the entrance of Golden Gate Park proper, on a rising eminence, with a magnificent outlook over Park, Ocean, Golden Gate, the shores of Marin County and the hills of Contra Costa. Buildings erected on this spot, will present a prominent land-mark

and may be seen not only by visitors to Golden Gate Park but also from all parts of the western half of the City.

Third.—The front part of this tract, forms an almost level plateau, with hills rising behind planted with a forest of pines, cypresses and acacias, which will form a beautiful dark background for, and in contrast to the buildings erected thereon; at the same time making it possible to have lovely terraced walks under the trees for the benefit of students and visitors.

Fourth.—There are but three streets, south of Golden Gate Park, running east and west, which can be made available for street car traffic to the ocean, H, I and J Streets. South of these Mount Parnassus and a range of hills rise to a height of 900 feet for a length of three miles, inaccessible for railroads, until you reach the Industrial School and the Ocean Boulevard. For this reason, the three streets, between the Park and the Library site will be sure to be utilized for electric or other roads, notwithstanding the effort now being made to have it appear that there will be no street car communications and service in that neighborhood.

Fifth.—This locality, forming a recess in the hills, is much sheltered from the westerly winds and amongst the trees the climate resembles that of the warm foot-hills of the Coast Range.

Sixth.—It is but fifteen minutes ride from the New City Hall, which is now considered a central point; the time will come, however, when this College site [illegible]e the center of population. The growth of the

city is directly on this line, and the country to the west thereof, with its pure ocean air, diminished quantity of smoke, dust and bacteria, will rapidly build up.

Seventh.—Here drudgery of student life is relieved by esthetic surroundings, the grandeur of nature is inspiring and spurs the scholar to higher achievements.

Eighth.—One of the great inducements for the selection of this particular tract as a Library site was on account of its topography. On both the east and west ends, almost to the line of J Street (which should hereafter be known as "Parnassus Avenue") rising hills project that form an almost perfect protection against any general conflagration reaching this spot. Many valuable libraries in ancient and modern times have been destroyed by fire, and immunity therefrom should be one of the first considerations.

These are some of the reasons that caused me to select this particular spot for a Library site. In offering one-half of the site for the Affiliated College building, the same reasoning was followed; for the same advantages that apply to a Library site, and are desirable for its purposes and visitors, also apply to a large extent, to a College site.

Car fares throughout the city, are now, and probably never again will be more than five cents, and an additional five or ten minutes on the cars, going to or coming from the College, or to and from Hospitals, in a populous city, can be of but little consequence, especially as the location of these institutions may, as the city grows, be changed.

Now please permit me to say a few words as to the special value of the Sutro Library and the general value of libraries to Colleges.

The Sutro Library consists at present of about 200,000 volumes, but counting all titles is probably nearer 300,000.

To give some idea of its value, I will quote what Andrew J. White, formerly President of Cornell University, afterwards United States Minister to Berlin and to St. Petersburg, one of the foremost scholars in the United States, said in a letter to Dr. J. M. Buckley, editor of the *Christian Advocate*, in which paper it was printed, in 1892:

"I must confess that of all the amazing things on the Pacific Coast—and I encountered surprise after surprise—the most unexpected was the discovery of the Sutro Library, and of the fact that so few people in California knew anything about it.

Mr. Adolph Sutro is one of the most wealthy men upon the Pacific Coast, well-known for the public spirit he has shown in his great mining enterprises and for his beautiful creations at Sutro Heights and elsewhere. About the year 1883 he began very quietly the founding of a library. His fundamental theory is worthy of notice. He saw that of libraries for popular use there would be a sufficiency—very many men can see the necessity of these—he therefore determined to develope a library, which while it should be useful for citizens generally, should be especially attractive to scholars and valuable in developing the higher thought and work of the Pacific Coast. In this view he bought outright several European Libraries, each of great importance in some special department, and then supplemented these by large purchases at important sales in Great Britain and on the Continent. The Library of the Duke of Sunderland, the great collection of duplicates belonging to the Royal Library

at Munich, the Dahlberg and Buxheim libraries were among the principal sources from which he drew. His agents abroad have since been steadily purchasing under the advice of experts, whom Mr. Sutro has called to take charge of his books, until he has now accumulated in the City of San Francisco about two hundred thousand volumes—and a wonderful collection it is. Every branch of science, literature and art is well represented. Many of the works are of the costliest. Among them are numbers of rare illuminated manuscripts, a very large collection of early printed works, especially of the Reformation and renaissance periods, with over thirty thousand volumes, many of them exceedingly costly, dating from the Civil Wars and Cromwellian or Commonwealth periods in England.

Looking around among them, I passed from a set of all the folios of Shakespeare to Diurnal, published the day after the execution of Charles I, and then to a bewildering multitude of other things of intense interest to the historical scholar. Especially curious from an historical point of view is a collection which Mr. Sutro has made in Mexico, which will prove a mine for the coming investigator of Spanish-American civilization. There is also a very large mass of Hebrew manuscripts, which will evidently some day reward investigators in Semitic history and literature. *With considerable acquaintance among the libraries of the United States, I should rank this one already among the first four in value, and it is rapidly increasing.* It is Mr. Sutro's purpose to erect a building for it in the City of San Francisco and to throw it open to the public. Being so near to the two California Universities it cannot fail to be of immense value to them. I found at my visit that some of the professors and students were already beginning to use it, even in its present unsuitable quarters.

Among other proposals of Mr. Sutro which scholars will appreciate is his plan of issuing bulletins containing the reports of the most valuable investigations made by scholars in the library. This cannot fail to attract numbers of young men ambitious of distinction to the neighboring institutions of learning."

Professor Jordan, of the Stanford University, on his first visit to the Sutro Library remarked:

"Had I known that such a library existed in California, I could have had Professor Burr, of Cornell, come to Stanford University, for he declined a call on account of the supposed lack on this coast of library material, for his special investigations."

Professor Burr was thereupon sent for, and came to San Francisco; he spent the three days he was here on the ladders of the Sutro Library, and, when he was through, concluded to accept the professorship. He returned to Cornell with the intention of coming here; but the Regents of that place brought such a pressure to bear upon him, and so largely increased his salary, that he finally concluded to remain.

Pertinent to the above is the following extract from Professor Burr's letter to Mr. Sutro, dated Cornell, June 25th, 1892:

" * * * No, I am not coming to California—at least, not at present. But it is no longer for want of books. The Sutro Library removes that obstacle entirely. I came back from California wholly prepared to accept President Jordan's offer. But, when the authorities of Cornell not only met the ultimatum they asked me to make, but met it unanimously and so generously that I could not doubt the heartiness of their action, I could not turn my back on my old home. Here, too, I have a work, and one very dear to me.

But, believe me, I shall forget neither the Sutro Library nor your generous hospitality to me as its visitor. There is much I want to say to you about it. My enthusiasm over the remarkable collection you have brought together does not abate. It is, I think, beyond all comparison the best collection in America, both as to numbers and as to quality of the books of the 15th century; and I gravely doubt if it has any rival this

side of the Atlantic for its literature of the 16th century. Rare books of which I had never before seen a copy you have doubly, triply, sometimes quadruply, on your shelves. For any work I may have to do in the contemporary literature of these critical centuries of the Renaissance and the Reformation, there is no place in America—I am not sure if any in Europe—to which I shall so surely turn as to the Sutro Library. Nor is this the only field in which I noted your phenomenal wealth. In travels of every age, in church history, canon law, and theology, in the history of all the sciences, especially the natural sciences, in curiosa of many sorts, your shelves are a Golconda of treasures. I envy the scholars who are to help you exploit them and the librarians who are to make your collections complete. * * * Again let me thank you for your charming hospitality at Sutro Heights and in the Sutro Library. Whether or not I ever become a Californian, those will always be red-letter days in my memory."

I give these quotations in order to show in what estimation the Sutro Library is held by scholars.

The selection of the books was made at a favorable time, under fortunate and extraordinary circumstances.

The Sunderland Library and that of the Duke of Hamilton, in England, the Monastery of Buxheim Library and that of the Duke of Dahlberg, Germany, came under the hammer during that time, and large purchases were made therefrom. Then there was the Royal State Library at Munich, that had absorbed the libraries of all the confiscated monasteries of Bavaria, which, besides other valuable works, furnished for our library over 4,000 incunabula, probably the best collection in existence.

Then there is the Library of the Secretary of the London Chemical Society, the collection of Parliament-

ary documents and proceedings from the year 1,000 A. D. to this day, formerly the property of Lord Macaulay, and which he used in writing his history; the codified laws of England, from the library of Lord Cairns; medical, botanical, geological, astronomical, mathematical, and other scientific and technical collections; a collection of 20,000 pamphlets of the Commonwealth times, and another collection, similar in numbers, relating to Mexico and its history, manuscripts of great variety and endless value, many on parchment, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, English, Spanish and Arabian.

All this, of course, forms but the nucleus of a great reference library for the sciences, arts and mechanics. Science advances so rapidly that only the latest editions of modern books should be purchased, when the library is actually ready to be opened, and that is a mere question of dollars and cents, for an order for all modern books can be placed with booksellers, and filled within a few months. So it is with scientific periodicals and papers: they will all be supplied when the library opens.

As to the general value of such a library as an adjunct, or, more properly speaking, as a nucleus, for a college, an examination of the great European centers of learning will afford the best illustration.

Go to Oxford, with its magnificent Bodleian Library, the pride of England; go to Cambridge; go to London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and St. Petersburg; go to Rome and look at the Vatican Library; go to our own Harvard, Yale, Cornell, Princeton, and other colleges; go

wherever there is the highest intelligence, learning, advancement in science, mechanics and general knowledge, and you will find the finest libraries.

San Francisco and California may well feel proud to have at the command of their students such a library, which will redound more to the credit of the State than anything that has up to this time been accomplished in that direction.

Respectfully submitted,

ADOLPH SUTRO.

PRACTICAL EDUCATION

AN ADDRESS

BEFORE THE STUDENTS OF THE
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

BY

JOHN MERLE COULTER

PRESIDENT-ELECT

INDIANAPOLIS
CARLON & HOLLENBECK, PRINTERS
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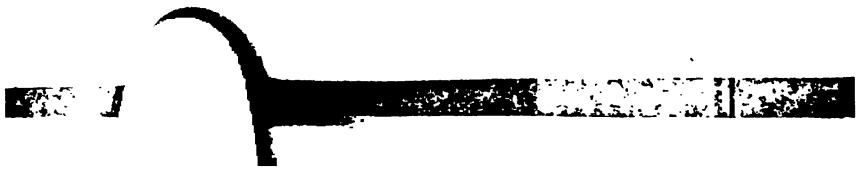


PRACTICAL EDUCATION.

To one who has had no experience, education may seem the simplest sort of thing. But it is one of the most complex problems we are called upon to solve, being not a whit behind that apparently unsolvable problem, free trade and protection. Those who have had much experience in this thing of education are very apt to have certain views of which the public in general do not approve. A superficial view may lead to one conclusion, and a careful dissection to a very different one. The trouble is that many have the superficial view, and the few do the dissecting. As teachers, we would count it a long step in advance if the public could only be brought to accept our conclusions. As it is, we are sometimes compelled to compromise between what we feel is right and public clamor. We may be driven to put into our courses of study things which are only "sops" thrown to public demand, and then must try to stealthily infuse into them as much of educational value as possible.

In these days, and in this land of haste and sham, of wretched preparation, and foundations laid in sand, it is profitable frequently to consider what we are doing. I know of no subject more misunderstood, not only by the public, but also by those supposed to stand as its representatives, than this one of education. In this country, whose very watchword is its system of education, there is grave danger of the *system* supplanting the *education*. In these latter days we have a new catch phrase, "practical education." What monstrous shams have masqueraded behind this phrase! It implies that much that is called education to-day, that all that was called education formerly, is impractical education. My claim is that the phrase "practical education" is tautological, and that "impractical education" is contradictory.

There is but one life to live, and that a short one. But a few

years of it can be devoted to what is called "getting an education," and they never can be duplicated. The training received at this most impressionable period has such a directing influence upon one's life, that it is commonly said to mold the character. Such are the facts which make this thing of education so tremendously important to a youth and his advisers. It is a question of such far-reaching influence, so unalterable in its results, that it should never be considered carelessly, nor decided hastily. The choice of an education, like the choice of a wife or husband, is "for better or worse."

I take it for granted that we have all discovered education to be a most desirable thing, a thing worth struggling for, a thing which brings in its hands not only enlarged usefulness, that noblest of gifts, but also enlarged happiness. The oft quoted "ignorance is bliss" is an outrage upon beings endowed, as we are, with that "delirious yet divine desire to know." We are all far enough advanced to have gained that more commanding outlook, from which we can see, to some extent, the exceeding beauty of knowledge, can catch in some way the faint outlines of her fair proportions, and are longing for a nearer, clearer view. From such a standpoint, far above that low-ground question, "does an education pay?" would I consider our theme.

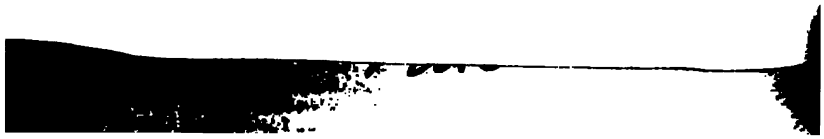
But, one question taken for granted leads us into the presence of another, which has been given manifold and most perplexing answers, "what sort of an education is best?" In the attempt to answer this question is to be found all the educative activity of this wonderful age. Systems of all sorts present themselves to the inquiring public, all defended by stout champions, and possessing all degrees of merit, from those that are wise and prudent to those that are characterized by wildness and unmitigated folly. Never was there an ailment so provided for with patent medicines as this one. We have, in these latter days of grading and bridging and tunneling, even the wonderful discovery of a "short cut," or royal road to knowledge, so royal that the happy, unworn traveler is not only brought into the possession of an education, but himself becomes transformed into a "teacher among men." Indeed, we seem to have come to the dawn of that day when a man is to be able to lift himself by the aid of his own boot-straps. I remember reading in some old numbers of Harper's Magazine a fancy sketch of the con-

dition of the world in the year 2,000 or 3,000 A. D., and among other wonderful inventions was mentioned the very one I have spoken of. That is, the idea is the same. The details differ a little, as, for instance, in the one case you were to sit for six months or a year under a bell-jar, subjected to a particular light, and stimulated by a particular food, until the proper bumps developed; while, in the other, you spend the same length of time, or a little less, in a school-room, the other items remaining the same. Another important difference is that the former has a scientific basis, while the latter has none.

But the catch-phrase is the one already mentioned, "practical education," for it captivates the plain every-day business sense of this most practical age, the age of "self-made men." A "self-made man" is of necessity a failure; but a man of intelligence, with such teachers as Nature all about him, experience, the hardest of task-masters, God speaking through his conscience and in his word, all directing him under the lash of an unquenchable longing for something better—such a man is educated; perhaps not in the formulæ of the schools, which are but as husks, the outward trappings, but in that development of mental muscle which gives him an iron grip upon affairs, he is every inch an educated man.

But "practical education" is now the thing. The days of sentiment, of romance, of impracticable notions, are past, and that most unsentimental thing, science, has induced people to ask those dreadful questions, "What is it for?" "What good will it do?" "Can we make any use of it?" As well reason with the wind and argue with the whirlwind as attempt to prove anything to persons who could ask such questions. In these days, every study pursued is looked upon like so much real estate, that can be sold or mortgaged as occasion may demand; that something can be made out of it, and this something, freely translated, means money.

What is the popular definition of "practical education?" It seems to be for a man to study the very things he proposes to do in life; that is, it amounts to serving an apprenticeship to a trade. If he means to be a farmer, let him study agriculture; if a merchant, let him study book-keeping; if an engineer, surveying, etc. "Everything else will be so much wasted time," is the corollary to the definition. As if to add sure proof of this, it is usually triumphantly asked, "To what use can one put this, that, or the other



study?" and this is often further strengthened by the testimony of short-sighted graduates themselves, who frankly acknowledge that "they don't remember a word of this, that, or the other study." You may have heard some one say, "I spent four years in the study of Greek and now can not read a line of it;" the inference being that the time devoted to this pursuit was so much time thrown away.

So much for the popular definition of a "practical education." It sounds well at first, it is so practical. "If you want to be a thing, be it," is what it resolves itself into, without any reference as to whether one is ready or not. Such phrases sound practical, but are anything else, for the *how* is not considered. I would like to subject this popular definition of a "practical education" to a little cold analysis. Let us get it out of the fog bank into which "practical men" have put it, and get it into the sunlight of "impractical men;" which is to say, get it away from emotional ignorance, which to-day is called "practical," and turn it over to logical intelligence, which is said to be "impractical." Take the definition as already illustrated, "if you want to be a farmer, study agriculture; everything else will be wasted time." Let us apply the same reasoning to the other operations of this would-be farmer. He would say, "If you want a crop of corn, plant corn; everything else you do will be so much time and money wasted. Drainage, fertilizers, breaking up, cultivation, all these take time and money and will soon be out of sight and forgotten; all you want is corn, so plant corn." I suppose he will get corn, but you know the kind. The young mind, with all its latent powers, with all its individual characteristics, is well likened to an uncultivated field that must be drained and broken up and harrowed, ready for the seed. Education is the draining, the breaking up, the harrowing, all the preparation for the seed; and the seed is one's specialty, which is to be planted when the ground is ready. This popular cry for a "practical education," therefore, asks us to omit the preparation of the soil and plant the seed at once, that there may be no loss of time. This figure seems to express the proper relationship between the general training or preparation, which we call "education," and the special training or apprenticeship which looks directly to one's life work. It is these two stages which are distinct in method and purpose, that are ignored in the popular reasoning. One prepares the soil,

the other sows the seed; the one reduces the metal, the other fashions it to its special use; the one develops the muscle, the other turns this developed power to some definite purpose; the one weaves the cloth, the other cuts and fits it. Think of shaping an ax from unreduced ore; of wielding a sledge-hammer with weak and flabby muscles; of cutting clothes from an unworked fleece, and you have the sort of reasoning used by "practical" men concerning what is called "practical" education.

We have come, then, to the notion that education is simply a period of preparation, a general calling forth and equipping of the powers of the mind; a sort of Indian clubs, parallel bars and trapeze for the development of mental muscle. And just here lies another fallacy. Many would confound education with information, and would say that the Indian clubs, parallel bars and trapeze are foolishness; why not develop this muscle by hoeing in the garden, or sawing wood, or something of that sort? In other words, get your education by studying subjects that you can afterwards use. Without discussing the merits of this question, I think it is apparent that mental muscle may be developed without a single item of information being obtained as such; not only this, but that it may often be cultivated in a pleasanter, more even and scientific way, if the utilitarian idea of obtaining information be not constantly present. The most symmetrical muscular development comes from the gymnasium, not from the cornfield. Qualifying the information obtained in a theoretical course of training by the phrase "as such" is necessary, for it is impossible to conceive of any kind of training which will not involve a certain amount of incidental information.

Education, then, being the development of mental muscle, the period of preparation, we are confronted with the question, "What is a practical education?" not in the popular meaning of the term, but really. Plainly, it is that kind of education which will bring about the development of this mental muscle, this preparation which is to bring ability to grasp one's specialty and the problems of life. Hence, studies become tools, the agricultural implements, not the seed; the means not the end. No study in our ordinary unprofessional schools has any right to be other than a means; the subject itself entirely lost sight of in its application; the grindstone forgotten in the sharpening of the tool. The prac-

tical farmer buys plows and harrows and drills and sows his seed; the so-called "impractical" educator advises the same thing in educational matters. On the other hand, the impractical farmer ignores plows and harrows and drills, but pokes a hole in the hard ground with a stick and drops in the seed; while the so-called "practical" educator advises the same thing in educational matters. I think that we have come to the conclusion that the proper definition of "practical education" is directly the reverse of the popular definition; that the "practical education" of the popular cry is the most impractical and visionary thing that can be imagined—the farmer without tools; and that the only practical education in fact is that which is sneered at to-day as utterly impractical; and Lowell's definition of a university is literally true, "a place where nothing useful is taught."

The question still remains, what are the studies that are to be considered as the proper tools for preparing the soil, the proper stones for whetting the blade? Surely there must be a choice here, among the great array of studies now presented! The notion that only a few studies out of the many can be considered the proper tools of the teacher is a very prevalent one, not so much now as formerly. Swing, in his "Parlez vous Francais?", very aptly puts it as follows:—

"For many centuries it has been assumed that the study of the dead languages, Latin and Greek, and of the higher mathematics, is the labor which gives the best results, the exercise which turns a plowboy into an orator, or a statesman, or a philosopher. College courses have been run amid these three shapes of toil and information, and it came to pass long ago that a mind not reared upon this strong food was deemed still an infant, having known only the weakness that comes from a diet of diluted milk. That power of prejudice, the power of what has long been, over the frail form of what might be, which we see in old medicine, or old religion, or old politics, re-appears in old education, and a scholar or a thinker without the help of Latin and Greek was as impossible as a state without a king, or a salvation without a clergyman. The feeling in favor of the classic course has not been all a prejudice, for that was and is a noble course of mental progress; but it was a prejudice so far as it denied the value of other forms of mental industry, and failed to perceive that what the human mind needs is exercise, and not necessarily Greek exercise or Latin exercise. A special must not thus dethrone a universal. A king may be a good governor, but his courtiers and sons and

daughters must not overrate the crowned man and predict the utter failure of any nation that may ever dare attempt to live without the help of a throne and royal children. Evidently, the greatest, widest truth is that the mind is to be made powerful by exercise and it will always be a secondary consideration whether this exercise shall come by loading the memory with the words and forms found in several languages, by compelling the judgment to work continually amid the many possibilties of syntax and translation, or shall come by a direct study of facts, and causes and laws, as found in science and history and literature.

"Once the roll of human greatness read thus: Homer, Hesiod, Æschylus, Euripides, Pericles, Plato, Virgil, Cicero, Cæsar, Tacitus, and the splendor of the catalogue none will have the rashness to deny; but in the later centuries the book so long sealed has been opened, and there have been added Dante, and Milton, and Shakespere, and Goethe, and Schiller, and such thinkers as Bacon and Newton, and such students as Cuvier, and Humboldt, and Darwin, and Huxley, and Agassiz and Gray. By these enormous additions the equilibrium of the old earth has been disturbed, and a side which once lay in a perpetual shadow enjoys a long summertime. Into the intellectual world came a wonderful company of modern princes—a Newton, equalling a Plato, and a Shakespere balancing all antiquity; and under the heavy footsteps of all these moderns the earth has been whirled about, and a larger and deeper shadow falls upon the land where Demosthenes once thundered, and Sappho once sang. With this tipping over of the earth, the Greek and Roman lands lost their exclusiveness of empire, and were invited to become only sister states in a world-wide republic."[1]

The point then is that the studies referred to are to be considered not as the only tools that can be used, but as among the best. From the great array of worthy studies, then, how is one's choice to be made?

My first answer is, that the individual bent of mind, the taste, must be a prominent factor in the decision, so that study can get the wonderful impetus of consent. When the mind is in constant rebellion against any course of action, progress in that direction has upon it a constant break. I suppose a man could be nourished and developed by artificial and very distasteful foods, but nature's way, the better way, seems to be to get the consent of his taste. At a college convention I once heard the opposite position advanced by a college professor. His notion was that whatever a pupil disliked and mentally rebelled against taking, must be the

[1] Swing, Club Essays, pp. 91 and 97.

very thing he needed most. "If he don't like Greek, make him take it; if he don't like mathematics, make him take it," was his cry. This is strange philosphy, especially among educators, whose sole mission is to develop the powers possessed by the mind, as indicated by the aptitudes or tastes; and not to undertake the somewhat hopeless task of making something out of nothing. But what if there is no taste, no aptitude, a perfect blank? I would treat it just as a hopelessly sterile field should be treated, one in which there seemed to be no power to be developed, viz.: advise that it will be a waste of time and money to go to the expense of draining and harrowing and cultivating with no possibility of a crop in the end.

A very common mistake in this matter of choosing studies is the serious one of choosing too many. It is the mistake not so often made by pupils as by those who prepare the courses of study. Many studies are now clamoring for admission to our schools, and all with some show of reason. If all are admitted, one of two things must be done: either for the pupil to select those desired, or for every subject to be pursued but a very short time. I am sorry to say that the latter is too often the thing done; and it is the chief complaint I have to make against the schools and ordinary colleges. It is a term of this, two terms of that, and almost a year of the other, a regular butterfly-flitting from one flower to the other, everything in turn, nothing long. What a travesty is this upon education! And then to do this hop, skip and jumping act in the name of a broad and liberal education! If there is breadth, there is neither length nor thickness; and this thin veneer, which soon cracks and shows the untouched roughness beneath, is a most common possession of a graduate.

In his "Evolution of the College Curriculum," President Jordan thus describes this popular notion of a school or college:

"That its purpose is to give a broad and well-rounded culture, to train men to 'stand four-square to every wind that blows,' such a culture as comes from a slight knowledge of many things, accompanied by thoroughness in nothing. Indeed, the desire of a student to know some one thing well is characterized as 'undue specialization,' and every effort is made to induce the student to turn with equal eagerness from study to study, equally interested, equally superficial in each. If a momentary spark of interest is evoked, it must fade out in a few days, as the subject in ques-

tion gives place to some other. The procession moves in haste, and the student can not loiter if he is to keep his place in the line."

I submit it to your candid consideration whether the average college and school curriculum does not resemble that patchwork known as the "crazy quilt," a regular Meisterschaft plan, in which the oftenest recurring phrase is "umsteigen." This scratching the surface will not do; one must plow deeper. *Few studies thoroughly done, and these few studies to the taste of the student,* is the conclusion we have reached, thus far, in answer to the question, "What is a practical education?"

This makes the elective system the one to choose, rather than the patchwork system. One of the striking demonstrations of the truth of the statement that a few studies thoroughly done develop the most strength is to be found in the old classical colleges, in which but few studies were pursued, but they were pursued continuously, and in such schools were developed the intellectual muscle and sinews of the world. When these studies began to be cut short by the demands of new subjects, just so much was the course enfeebled. This old classic course was simply a special course, what would be called an elective course now, the development of a specialty, the sticking for years to one or two things, a magnificent illustration and proof of what is claimed to-day for special or elective courses as opposed to the superficial smattering of a maximum of subjects in a minimum of time. Elementary instruction in a variety of subjects is good enough for general information, but if mental power is to be developed, the alphabet and preliminary definitions must be left behind in some subject or other, and the mind be led to the frontier, that ill-defined boundary between the known and unknown, and gain in one direction, at least, that look into the whirling mist of the unknown which is a tremendous education, and one which no treading of myriads of well-worn paths can ever bring.

From the valley at Fabyan's, in a comfortable seat upon a broad veranda, one looks out upon the noble forms of Mt. Washington and its associates, with their rugged sides and dark forests, their heads up among the clouds, and the glory of sunlight over it all. The mountains look peaceful, the cloud seems to rest like a filmy veil about the summits, and so your impression of mountain and

cloud is made, something that a glance can take in, and then you turn to some other view. But wait! Suppose, with staff in hand and muscles trained, you begin to climb. At first the way is smooth enough; but soon the road is steep and rough, the rocks are wilder, the forest darkens, and the breath quickens as muscles begin to feel the strain of effort. Higher and higher you push along the toilsome way. Will it never end? Are the rocks and the forest and the steep ascent endless? Up, up, till the breath is gone, the muscles quiver, the brain throbs, and you sink upon some deep couch of moss to rest. Glancing downward, the world lies at your feet; fields, plains, valleys, mountains, stretch out in endless succession, and such a view, such thoughts as enter you then, were never yours before. But still there is height above, and throbbing heart, and straining muscles, and the steep, rough road are yours again, as you press up, up, up; until, at last, the moment comes when your feet are on the loftiest summit. The wild desolation of ruin is everywhere, a blinding, driving mist storms wildly all about you, and you are dazed with the ceasless din. You are alone in awful solitude, a pigmy in the presence of tremendous size and force; your own littleness settles down upon you; the greatness and majesty of nature fills your soul; and then, suddenly, the mist is torn aside, and you get a glimpse of a vision that no art can portray, no tongue of man describe, a glimpse of far-off lands and cloudless skies. Which is education in mountain and cloud, the lazy on-looking from the porch, or that of the long, rough road, the driving mist, and the vision?

I care not what mountain you climb, but if you are among them, say not that you know them until you have had at least one beneath your feet.

I believe the conclusion irresistible: that to obtain the best results, the best development of mental powers, the best education, at least one study, and that a chosen one, should be pursued through as great a length of time as possible; if in college, throughout the entire course. Accompanying this there should be related or supplementary studies which the one chosen involves, none of which need represent a serious amount of time. Thus the chosen subject is the backbone which runs continuously through the system, and the correlated studies are like the ribs supporting and bracing on every side.

Thus is combined the sum total of advantages, viz.: few studies, the consent of taste, thorough and advanced work in some direction, a maximum of general information consistent with the other ends in view, which prevents too great narrowing. This is no ideal sketch of an unattainable condition of things, but the actual working plan of our more advanced colleges. This is the ideal "practical education," which must make the strongest men and women. The same principle should find its application not only in highly favored colleges, but in our schools and academies as well. "Too many studies," "too many studies," is the cry to take up against them. Why, a high school has become a little university, with its fourteen weeks of everything! When it can be beaten into the head of the average curriculum maker that studies are not an end, but a means, and that the number and subjects of studies make little difference compared with the time devoted to them, we may hope for something better. Biology, for instance, in ordinary schools, need never be taught in both its departments of botany and zoology, but that one selected with which the teacher is most familiar, and the whole time usually assigned to both devoted to that one, and that doubled by throwing out two or three other studies. This sort of decimation in all distinct departments of study would leave the schools in a very healthy condition, like a skillfully pruned vine, and the chances for bearing fruit would be largely increased.

Even with our vertebrated courses of study there still remains the danger of smattering, even within the confines of a specialty. Suppose one has chosen the general and frequently selected department of modern languages; not German or French or Italian, but modern languages. I speak of this particularly because if there is anything which masquerades as "culture" in modern society it is a smattering knowledge of modern languages. The young lady and gentleman are not considered finished until French and German phrases roll glibly from their tongues and imbed themselves in the massive English like dried currants in a pound cake. As Swing puts it:

"Many young persons are learning more ways of expressing thoughts than they have thoughts to express, and instead of having ten ideas of value, they give promise of reaching at least ten methods of stating one idea, and perhaps a small one at that. Suppose your beautiful daughter has by much toil and expense learned to say in five tongues, 'he has the pretty yellow dog,' in Greek, in

Latin, in French, in German, and could she by industry find the Chinese and Zulu vowel sounds, it would be well for the girl and parents to remember that, amid all this variety of speech, there is only the same yellow dog all the time."[2]

So there is such a thing as smattering within the confines of a specialty. If language, let the vertebral study be one language; if science, but one department of one science, and so on. This is what is meant by scaling a single mountain, and not walking about on the plain below and looking up at the summits of many.

Thus have we reached the relation of studies to a practical education, the rules which should govern their number and selection, and the important question of time. To my mind the most practical question remains to be answered. Suppose you have selected your course with the greatest skill, fulfilling all the conditions we have just been laying down, of what profit will it be in the hands of a poor teacher? The largest, the overwhelming factor in a practical education is the teacher. Be skillful in your selection of teachers and all else will follow. So much would I let this principle govern that I would select a great teacher first and then find out what he could teach me. If studies are tools, almost any tool will accomplish the results when in skillful hands; and no tool will succeed in the hands of a bungler. Don't select buildings and expensive laboratories and enormous libraries and high tuition; let none of these things catch you; but select great teachers. Equipment is as nothing to a successful teacher, who can utilize whatever he happens to have, and is himself the chief opportunity of his pupil. It takes men to make a school or college, and not buildings, but at what distant date our boards of control are going to understand this is very uncertain.

What are the signs by which one may recognize a great teacher? the ear-marks which point him out to inexperience? What are the qualifications that in these days fit a man for the teacher's position in our colleges?

In the first place, the subject of his department should be his life-work, the subject that to him is the most interesting and important of all subjects, which when slighted by pupils or left out in elections produces in him either astonishment or pity for such short-sightedness. The day is far past when a man trained to be a

[2] Swing, Club Essays, p. 110.

minister or a doctor, or even a college graduate, is necessarily fitted to teach any department. Because a man has been trained to harness a horse, does it follow that he is the one to shoe him? Such reasoning is far too common.

In the second place, as a result of the first, our teacher will be an authority in the subject of his department, not a local authority, any charlatan can be that, but one among his fellows. He stands for his department, and when known at all, is known as Smith, the mathematician or Greek scholar.

In the third place, he must have power enough to be productive. The notion of a teacher as one whose whole business is that of a pump, simply to be pumped full from some reservoir that he may fill the little pitchers held up under his nose may be true, but it is dreadfully belittling. He should rather be a perennial spring, where refreshing waters are constantly bubbling forth, a center and source of supply. The man who has neither power nor inclination to work in his own department, not only demonstrates his unfitness for teaching, but loses a great source of inspiration to his pupils. Imagine the difference between two teachers before a class; one carefully crammed with second-hand information which he is there to impart; the other in the flush and fire of his own thought and work, stepping aside a moment, as an artist, with palette and brushes in hand, to explain the beauties of some great picture which he is painting. The one is a taskmaster, the other an inspiration.

I am glad to believe that our better schools and colleges are not only beginning to demand fewer studies and more time, but also better teaching.

Thales was a great king and philosopher. He lived in the days of brawn, when a stout arm and a sharp sword formed the goal of man's ambition. He delighted to surround himself with men of might, men that were tried and true. Near the far off border of his kingdom was a famous hill, for it bore upon its sunny slopes golden apples, the apples of success. He who would win a place by Thales' side, a leader of his forces, a member of his council, must reach this distant hill, and lay at his master's feet some of its golden fruit. Frequent was the success, much more frequent the failure; for between the court and the hill lay a long and dangerous way, beset by snares, and beasts of prey, and wilder men,

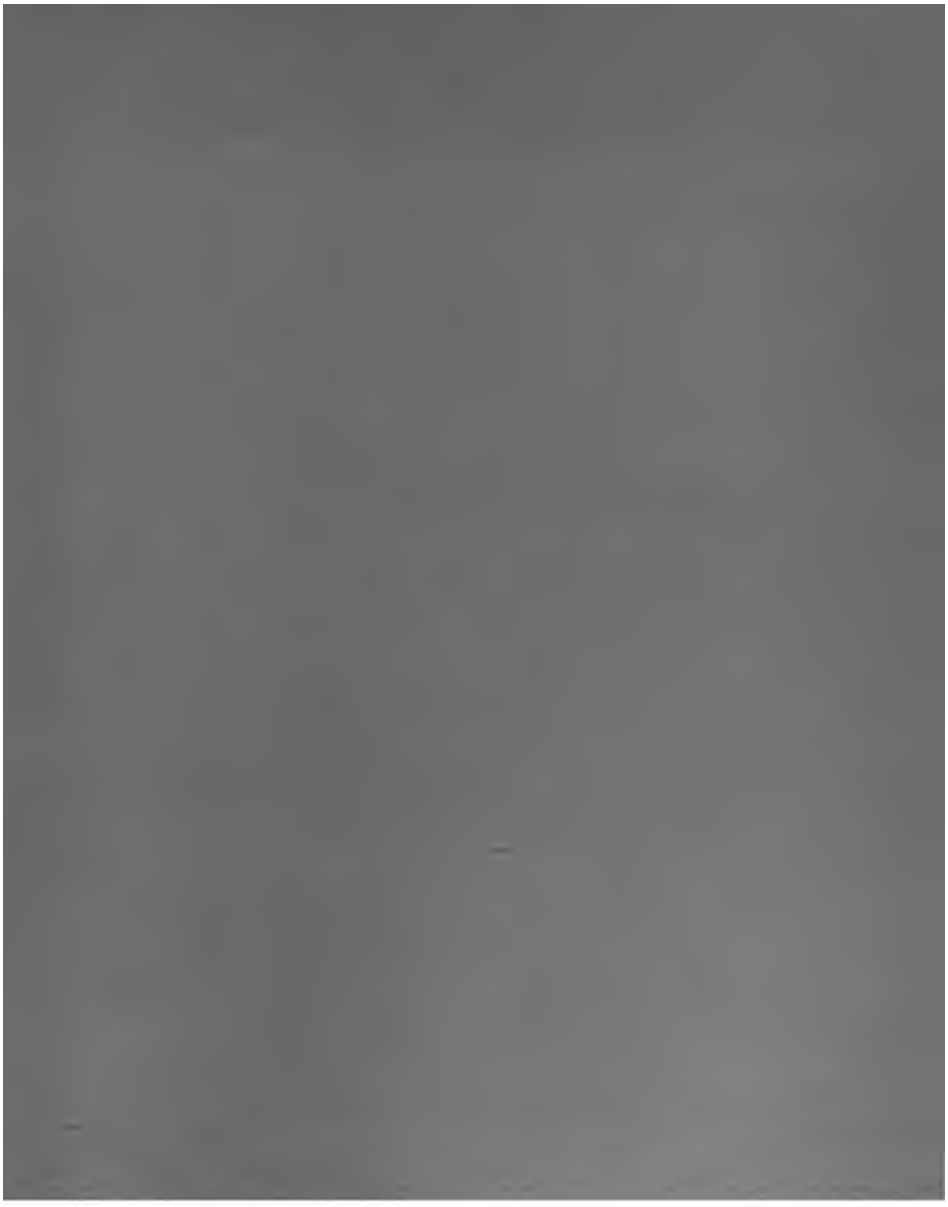
and he must be well equipped who fought his way back to his king. Two youths were being trained for this hazardous journey, but their training was very different. One feasted to repletion upon all the dainties he could find, for he must lay up food in store against the day of its failure. The rest of the time was spent in providing everything he might need for use or defense. He must have a helmet, a breast-plate, a shield. All his body must be padded and defended. Then he must carry everything for which his imagination or that of his friends could suggest a possible need. He thought of this device, and that was hung to him; some friend thought of another, and that was fastened on; and so one thing after another was brought and strung upon him, until at last, when the day for starting came, he stood ready, padded, helmeted, covered with cloth and brass, enwrapped, festooned, bedecked with endless bric-a-brac, and underneath it all flabby muscles, a quaking heart, and, rusty in its jeweled scabbard, an untried sword.

The preparation of the other was quite different and by no means so varied. He ate sparingly of substantial food, trained his muscles unceasingly, and day after day, day after day, sharpened his sword. Training his muscles and sharpening his sword, this was the dull, monotonous round of his daily life, and when his day of starting came, he stood forth magnificent in health, every muscle as rigid as iron and true as steel, his eyes flashing undaunted courage, and his tried sword as keen and trusty as the famous blades of Damascus.

One failed for there was no strength in him; he could hardly carry his cumbrous trappings.

The other, presently, laid the golden apple at Thales' feet.

Do you wonder at the result?



Higher Education and the State

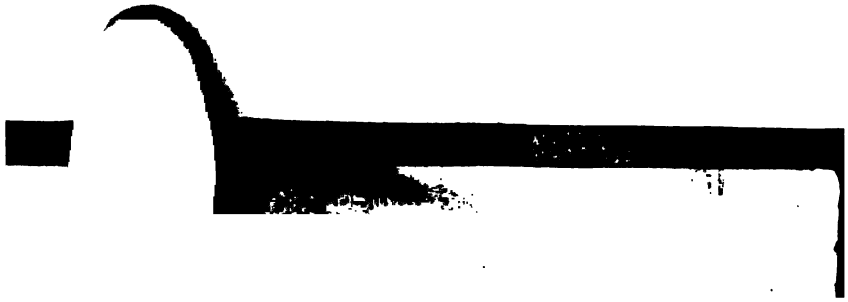
An Address delivered before the Fortnightly Club of Bloomington, Indiana.

BY

JOSEPH SWAIN, LL. D.

President Indiana University

No. 4.



HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE STATE.

I.—STATE AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

HIGHER EDUCATION has been promoted by the state from the early times until the present. The first university of the world was the Museum of Alexandria, supported from the public treasury under the Ptolemies.

The Museum of Alexandria had a great library, zoological gardens, a learned faculty and other equipments, all provided by the State. It performed an incalculable service to humanity by advancing science and preserving and handing down to succeeding generations the knowledge and culture of the past, and the fact that the university once existed is even to-day the chief glory of Alexandria.

State support of higher education became the policy of the Roman Empire. It was recognized that if the state would have leaders it must have trained men. "Throughout the length and breadth of the vast Roman Empire, whether at Rome, Lyons, or Athens in the west, or at Constantinople, Antioch or Alexandria in the east, higher education became the policy of the state; to cherish and strengthen it was felt

to be among the foremost duties of the emperors; to neglect it was to cripple the empire; for the power of Rome was founded largely on her superior civilization, won by the superior knowledge of her governors."*

In the middle ages there was, perhaps, no greater man than Charlemagne. His proudest title to distinction was his patronage of all the forms of higher education. His quick eye discovered that nothing would raise his Franks among surrounding people, nothing give them such lasting prominence and power, as superior culture. To-day, as of old, Charlemagne is honored as highly because he was the friend of Alcuin as because he was the first of mediæval paladins. This work, begun by Charlemagne, is continued in France to-day. France maintains fifteen state universities at an annual expense to the government of about 15,000,000 francs. In addition to these universities, eleven other institutions receive in all about 2,000,000 francs.

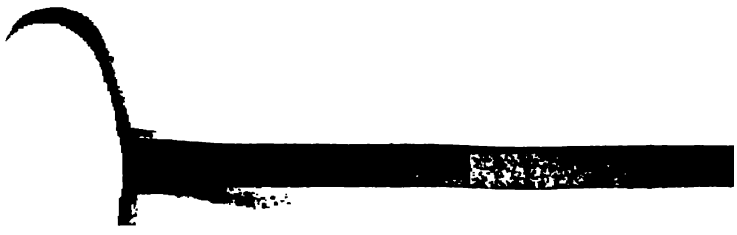
By the promulgation of the law of 1835 the government of Belgium has actively developed and strengthened its institutions of higher learning. The government appropriated in 1891 to the state universities of Ghent and Liege the sum of $453,154. Each of these institutions has the four faculties of arts, science, law, and medicine.

EDUCATION IN SWEDEN.

Education in Sweden is chiefly an affair of the state. The universities of Upsala and Lund are both state institutions. Dr. Lagerstedt, in speaking of Swedish education, says:

"The universities of Europe generally are expected to fill certain requirements demanded by the state. The state requires from its officials and private citizens proposing to enter certain important vocations—that of medicine, for instance—that they give evidences of possessing

*J. Edward Simmons.



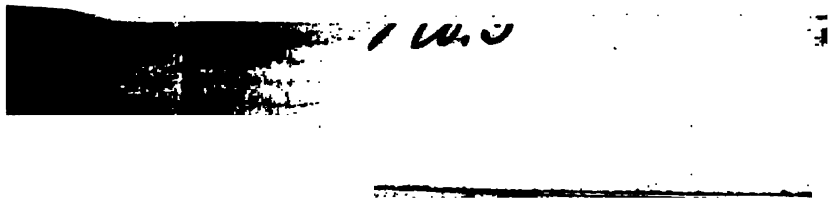
the knowledge and skill necessary to their special calling. Now, in some cases, the university teaching and the ordinary examinations have been considered as serving this additional public end. In other cases the universities have had to undertake the organization of courses of instruction required by the state for the purpose just mentioned, and the testing of proficiency therein by special examinations—civic or state examinations, as they may be called. This part of university work naturally has a less scientific character, it is more elementary, and the object of the examination is to ascertain that the students have attained certain fixed standards of knowledge rather than to ascertain the results of deep scientific study. The practical importance of this part of the universities' work may sometimes offer temptations subordinate to their strictly scientific work and make the higher examinations, the university examinations proper, by technicalities or regulation, too much like the civic or state examinations. The present regulations and arrangements of the Swedish universities seems to avoid this danger."

EDUCATION IN GERMANY.

The regular state appropriations to the German universities in 1891 and 1892 were $3,606,306. This amount is not exceptional. Liberality is a well established policy, and the appropriations have increased from year to year with the demands.

No better illustration of the advantages of higher education to the state need be given than the wonderful advances the German empire has made in the present century, and these advances are conceded to be due to the establishment and support by the state of her public education. This was shown in a marked way in the Franco-German War of 1870. To those systems of general training, of which higher education by the state is a part, is due the success of Germany in this war.

"The achievements of this war are not to be considered," says Charles Kendall Adams, "the mere result of a levy *en*

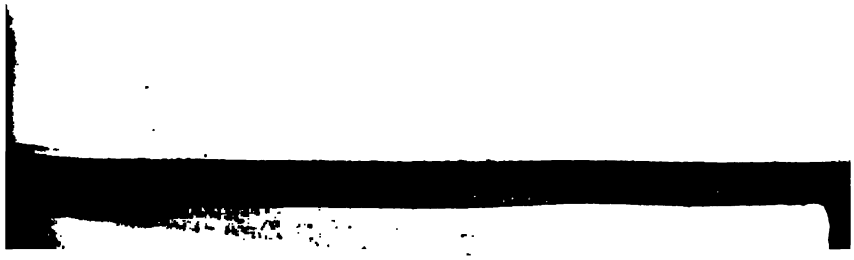


masse under the command of a great military genius; they are rather an application to military affairs of the whole intelligence of a nation of extraordinary mental and moral culture. They are the result of no qualities that can be drilled into any army in a month or a year; but of those which are interwoven with the very tissues of the nations thinking and feeling. They come not from the genius of a few alone, but rather from the genius of the few united with the superior training and culture of the many. They are the fruit of an application to military affairs of the actual *character* of the nation."

"But what," he continues, "is this Prussian culture of which I speak? In general it may be answered that it consists of those attainments which are acquired by the universal adoption of the truth, that whether you want a man for war or for peace, for a profession or for a trade, there is no way in which you can make so much of him as by training him, and training him not in parts, but as a whole; and furthermore, that in all the contests of life, other things being equal, the trained men are sure to attain the highest success. On this theory, not as a simple sentiment, but as a solid foundation on which to rear the whole fabric of society, the lawmakers of Germany went to work."

Germany's rapid advance to commercial rivalry with England is due in large part to the absorption of university men into the trades.

Oxford and Cambridge have received large contributions from royal favors. The University of Edinburgh has received large support from the British government. Private wealth did early what the state might have done later. The existence of colonial state universities is ample evidence that English spirit favors higher education by the state.

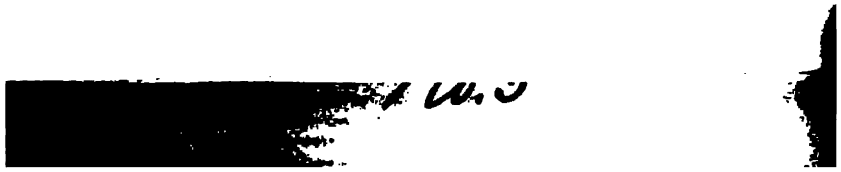


IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

To the early American colonists learning was a trust which had been carried across the sea to be fostered and handed down to posterity, and it was sacred alike to the church and to the society of a new community. The first schools in this country were copies of the English schools. The grammar schools of the old country furnished models for the grammar schools in the colonies. Rugby, Eton and Westminster were patterns for the academies; and the English classical schools, which were shaped by mediæval influences, were closely followed by Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, Columbia and Dartmouth. But the financial and intellectual forces of the old country were lacking in the new, and the American schools could not rival their foreign prototypes. In this condition of affairs the colonial government came to the support of the schools and furnished an income by means of taxation.

Throughout the colonial period Harvard University was largely dependent on the colonial court of Massachusetts. It has been recently pointed out that the colonial legislature, before the end of the 18th century, made more than one hundred different appropriations for the colleges, on an average, as many as one every two years.

"When the revolution came on and the state was called upon to adopt a new constitution, it was but the natural continuation of the same beneficent policy that led the constitution to command all future legislatures, in the most elaborate and specific terms, to care for all the interests of education, and especially the University at Cambridge. It is an extraordinary fact that the whole of Chapter V of the Constitution of 1780 is entitled: "The University at Cambridge and Encouragement of Literature." No one can read that remarkable chapter without being impressed with the idea



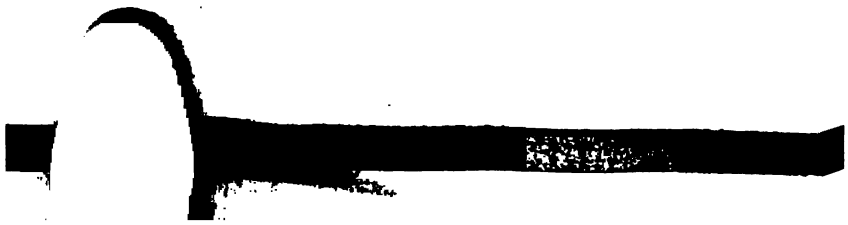
that the people of Massachusetts considered Harvard College at that moment as an institution that in all future time must have the most tender and the most thoughtful care of all the people of the state. In the same generation, and in the same spirit, Nathan Dane secured for the endowment and support of secondary schools a very generous appropriation of lands in that part of Massachusetts which now constitutes the state of Maine. The state gave in all $595,797 to Harvard College, which sum then represented ten times as much to Harvard College as a similar gift today."

Like Harvard in Massachusetts, Yale College in Connecticut received constant support from the legislature of the colony in which it is situated. The appropriations took the forms of land grants, taxes, bills of credit, and the like. At the end of the last century the first president, Dwight, declared that the state of Connecticut had been the chief benefactor of Yale College.

Columbia University, in New York, grew out of King's College, founded in 1754 under the royal government. Both King's College and Columbia College received state appropriations.

CHURCH AND STATE.

In the early colonial education the church and state were closely allied. The dominant spirit was benevolence. The whole emphasis was upon moral elevation and the support of religion. Yet the colonial government held it a sacred duty to support schools, and even to create them if necessary. This policy was more marked toward higher institutions of learning than toward more elementary institutions.



After the declaration of independence, there was a movement in favor of universities, "created, controlled and supported" by the state. There was a demand for a political education—"an education of the individual as a sovereign citizen." In the Constitution of 1776, Pennsylvania provided for one or more universities, and in the same year North Carolina made a like provision. Many other states followed with similar constitutional provisions or special legislation.

Nearly every state constitution has a section relating to the encouragement of higher education. Several constitutions have provisions recognizing certain schools as state universities, while twenty-four states have established state universities by state laws.

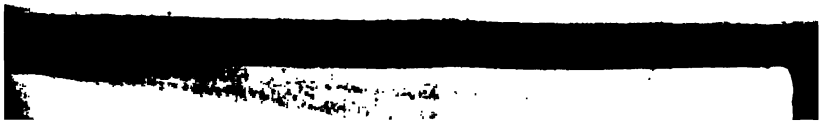
College property, in some cases the property of professors, was very early exempted from taxation. The state not only recognizes the necessity of higher education for the elevation of its subjects, but by exemption from taxation it encourages private and denominational schools as well as state schools. There is now, of course, a wider differentiation of state and non-state schools, a wider separation of church and state in matters of education.

That the state should provide higher education was a doctrine held by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, Monroe, and later Edward Everett and all American statesmen of this first order and such weighty authority has done much to promote public higher education. The belief of Jefferson that the university is as much a public trust as the primary schools, is one that is receiving practical acceptance in the development of state institutions in the west and northwest.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

From an educational point of view the ordinance of 1787 was one of the most important documents that was ever penned. This Ordinance declares that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools as the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Following the spirit of this declaration the government by contract with the Ohio Company reserved two townships of land for the support of Ohio University at Athens. Later Ohio received another township, which was used to endow Miami University. Although no general law was passed on this subject the precedent of the Ordinance of 1787 became a national policy. After the year 1800 each state admitted into the Union, except three, obtained two or more townships of land for the establishment of a university.

It is sometimes said that the educational provision of the great Ordinance refers to the common schools only. This idea is without foundation. Both the prevailing sentiment of the time in favor of the promotion by public aid to secondary and higher institutions, and the subsequent action of the members who adopted the Ordinance justify this statement. The clause in the northwestern ordinance was subtantially copied from the Constitution of Massachusetts, adopted in 1780, in which Chapter V is entitled the "University at Cambridge and Encouragement of Literature, etc." This new mandate must be interpreted by the evident meaning of the old one from which it was copied. A few days after the adoption of the Ordinance of 1787 Congress itself placed its own interpretation upon it, by making an appropriation for higher education in the territory of Ohio.

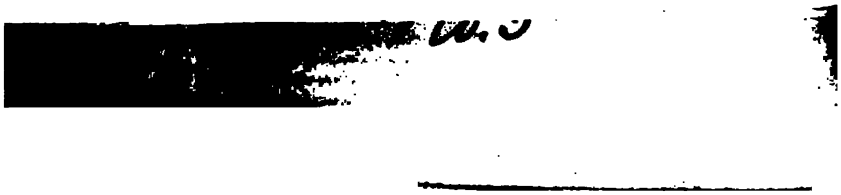


Washington regretted the habit in his time of American youths going to Europe to receive their college training. It was that American boys might be educated at home that he gave money to found a national university and hoped Congress would establish it and adequately support it.

JEFFERSON AND STATE AID TO EDUCATION.

Jefferson saw very clearly the necessity for public higher education in the United States. He had observed that never in the history of the world had higher education been successful, except when it had been established, and, at least during its childhood and youth, been encouraged and supported by all the forces in the state. He saw that colleges and universities had been everywhere established and mainly supported by the church during that long period when the church and the state came to be separated; higher education, unless already adequately endowed by the church, had dwindled wherever it had not been taken up by the state. It was for these reasons that Jefferson not only founded the University of Virginia, and provided for its support, at public expense, but regarded the service he had thus rendered as one of such importance and significance that he directed the fact of his being the founder of the University of Virginia to be placed on his tombstone, where it may be seen at Monticello. Jefferson was prouder of the fact that he was "Father of the University of Virginia" than that he was President of the United States.

Before 1821 it was estimated that more than 6,000,000 acres of land had been appropriated by Congress to the purposes of higher education.



These gifts have been increased by the Morrill Act of 1862, by the Hatch Act in 1889, and by the Supplemental Morrill Act in 1890. Thus no state has been admitted to the Union since the adoption of the Constitution that has not received from the general government aid forming the basis of the establishment and support of higher education in substantial accordance with the policy which existed throughout the colonial period.

STATE EDUCATION IN THE WEST AND NORTHWEST.

Following the colonial policy and the principles of the Ordinance of 1787, the western and northwestern states have developed their state universities very rapidly and continuously. The fact that the idea of state support has steadily grown is sufficiently shown by the illustrations given above. There is another fact worthy of consideration, namely, the rapid growth in attendance. I quote the following:

"During the ten years from 1885 to 1895 in the eight New England colleges: Amherst, Bowdoin, Brown, Dartmouth, Harvard, Williams, Wesleyan, Yale, the increase in the number of students was 20 per cent. In the eight representative colleges of the north central states: Beloit, Carlton, Cornell, Hillsdale, Iowa College, Lawrence, Ripon, St. John's, the increase during the same period was 14¼ per cent.; in the eight representative state universities of California, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska and Wisconsin, the total number of students in 1885 was 4,250; in 1895, the number was 13,500, an increase in ten years of 320 per cent. Thus it appears that the rate of growth in the state universities has been sixteen times as great as the rate of growth in the New England colleges and universities, and twenty-two times as great as the rate in the colleges in the north central states."

The increase in Indiana University during this period was 394 per cent.

MICHIGAN'S EXAMPLE TO THE SURROUNDING STATES.

The state of Michigan has been a leader and an example to all surrounding states. The management has been excellent and the legislature has been liberal. In thirty years from 1867 to 1897 the state appropriations to the university have amounted to $3,018,004. This sum does not include the large sums given to the agricultural and normal schools. The total income of the university 1896–'97 was $421,635.

California has given in the aggregate $1,901,702 to her state university. The total income for 1896–'97 was $338,851. In addition to the direct appropriations, the state of California, in the early days, gave certain swamp lands for the creation of a "Permanent Endowment Fund." These lands sold for $811,500; the income in twenty-three years amounts to $1,150,000; state appropriation, $1,901,-500. Total, $3,863,202.

Thus nearly $4,000,000 have been contributed by California for the foundation and income of her state university.

In 1896–'97 the total income of the University of Wisconsin was $398,207; of the University of Illinois, $399,429; of the University of Ohio, $349,370; of the University of Minnesota, $284,091; of the University of Missouri, $183,-777; of the University of Iowa, $148,377; University of Nebraska, $202,072. There are not fewer than forty-five colleges and universities supported by the state.

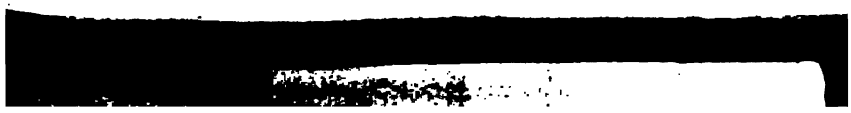
It thus appears that the policy of state support of higher education has been the accepted policy for centuries in Europe; that it had an independent growth in America; was established as a colonial policy, adopted by congress, and has become the national policy in the United States.

II. General Reasons for State Support of Higher Education.

While the above historical facts in regard to the widespread support of higher education by the state give the best possible reason for its existence—the justification of the wisdom of experience—it does not need to rest on these alone.

The history of the state university is indelibly written in the history of the state. "That unworthy theory of the state," says President Angell, "which makes it a mere policeman to protect life and property, has rarely appealed to men as strongly as the Aristotelian conception, which commends the state to seek every high and noble end that it can secure better than the private citizen." This obligation of the state rests upon the acknowledged necessity in a republic for diffusion of intelligence and nurture of character. These are essential not only to the prosperity but even to the very existence of a free state.

An education which is to train men for the duty of citizenship in a free state must train men beyond the limits of elementary knowledge. They must have that large knowledge which prepares them to understand and discharge their duties to each other, to society, to the state. It is the function of the state to provide educational opportunities limited only by the ability of its citizens to embrace those opportunities. Any argument which justifies the state in supporting or aiding high schools is a justification of supporting or aiding the university.



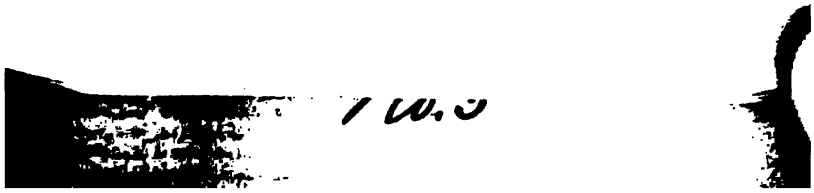
ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE STATE UNIVERSITY.

Some oppose the state university on the ground that all can not use it. This is as valid against high schools or elementary schools as against universities. On the same ground one might reply that bachelors or childless men can object to being taxed for the common schools. If the university existed merely for those who are students within its walls there might indeed be objection to giving it state support, but as a matter of fact the state gets the benefit of the finished product. Has the skilled physician most benefited himself or the community? Has the teacher most benefited himself or his pupils? Graduates of universities could not, if they would, appropriate to themselves the fruits of their university training. "The university thus pours its blessings through all channels of life in the state."

"Of all state treasures," says Andrew D. White, "the genius and talent of citizens is the most precious. It is the duty of society to itself, a duty which it can not throw off, to see that the stock of talent and genius in each generation may have a chance for development, that it may be added to the world's stock and aid in the world's work."

The university is sometimes opposed on the ground that it is unjust to tax men of modest means to support a university, as none but the wealthy can go to college. The statistics of the state university do not support such a view, as more than half of the students in our state institutions are sons and daughters of farmers and mechanics. The number of poor boys who earn their money and send themselves to college is increasing from year to year.

The state university furnishes a common meeting ground where the young men and young women of the state are free from any influences except those which are accepted



by the state itself. It becomes a forum where the rising young men and women of the whole state may know one another and value one another rightly.

"The common school is the hope of our country. In like manner, the high school and college are the hope of the common school, and the university the hope of the college. Each part of the system depends on the next higher for its standards and for its inspiration. From those educated in the higher schools the teachers in the lower must come. Lop off the upper branches of the tree and the sap ceases to rise in its trunk. Cut off the higher schools from the educational system and its growth and progress stop. Weakness at the head means paralysis of the members."*

The state university should bring to the state the best thought of the world. This best thought should go to the high school through the college graduates who teach in the high school, and thus be disseminated throughout the state. Thus has come to the state the thought and inspiration of Agassiz in the study of animal life, of Asa Gray in the study of plants, of Sylvester and Chrystal in the study of mathematics, of Tait, Thomson, and Helmholtz in the study of physics, of Zeller in the history of philosophy, of Pickering in the study of astronomy, of Hall in pedagogy and experimental psychology, of White in history, of Goodwin and Gildersleeve in Greek, Fresenius in chemistry, in English, Child, Hart, and Cook.

WHY THE STATE UNIVERSITY IS NECESSARY.

It is sometimes said that a state university is not necessary, that students can go to institutions outside the state. There are serious objections to this idea. A majority of the students in our state universities can not afford to pay the necessary expense incurred by attending institutions in other

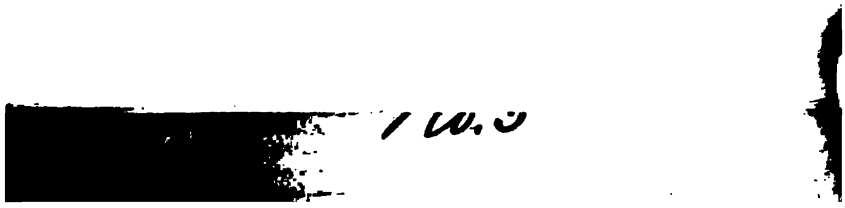
*David Starr Jordan.

states. This was recognized in the Constitutional Convention of 1851. Delegate Read said:

"The rich can send their sons to distant institutions. Not so with the poor and those of modest means. They must have institutions near at hand or be excluded from its advantages."

The lack of a state university would be a great loss to the state in every way. Many of the young men who go to institutions outside the state lose their state affiliations and become citizens of other states. I have heard President Angell, of Michigan University, say, with force and truth, that one of the great benefits of the university to the state of Michigan was the fact that able young men who came to Michigan University to study not infrequently take up their residence in the state and become useful and influential citizens.

Can we not depend on wealthy men to furnish higher education? This would be un-American. Wealthy men might grade our roads, build our court-houses, conduct our courts—do anything for the public good—if the state should neglect these matters, or turn them over to private hands. But this would not release the people from their duty in this matter. The people have safety only in independence. "There is," says President White, "no system more unrepublican than that by which a nation or a state, in consideration of a few hundreds or thousands of dollars, delivers over its system of advanced instruction to be controlled and limited by whims of living donors or dead testators. In more than one nation, dead hands stretching out from graves closed generations gone, have lain with a deadly chill upon institutions for advanced instruction during centuries. More than one institution in our own country has felt its grip and chill. If we ought to govern ourselves in anything it ought to be in this."

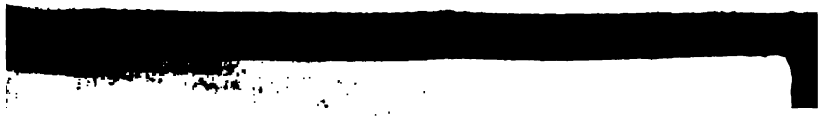


The people must provide for the things they need or these things will never be properly and adequately furnished. Private provision for education can not guarantee, and can not be expected to guarantee, absolute freedom from bias in religion, politics and morals. The state can secure unsectarian instruction, unpartisan institutions only by providing these itself. This fact does not in the least disparage the existence of private and denominational colleges, but indicates that these alone are not sufficient.

THIS IS AN AGE OF SPECIALIZATION.

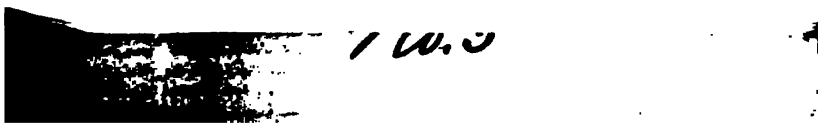
The universities should send out into every township of the state—to her schools, to her professions, to her farms and her shops strong young men and women who are trained in "plain living and high thinking" and who, by this training, are armed against the shams of the world in education, in religion and in politics. This is an age of specialization, and the complex question of capital and labor, the best methods of municipal government, the best methods of taxation, the vexed questions of finance, of dealing with criminals, of treating insane people, the best sanitary methods, the best means of dispensing charity—these are only a few of the many scientific questions which must be settled, if at all, by the searching methods of the scientific and trained specialists. The scholarship and training of the schools should form a background for the wisdom gained from a knowledge of affairs.

The great problems of our day, scientific, historical, political and industrial, can best be settled by those who have special training for their special work. We are living in an age when there is a demand for re-examination of all things.



We are not satisfied simply because a belief or custom had the sanction of our fathers. We are not willing to say that anything is true or that any method is the best method until all the facts available are examined by those who know how to estimate the value of data. The modern university is an institution where all subjects are considered of equal value and the great ambition of the teacher of each subject is first to gain a complete mastery of his subject and then to assist his students to such mastery; and in the second place, to contribute something to the sum total of human knowledge in his own line of work. The university does not do its duty to the state if it does not in some degree, at least, widen the field of human knowledge. It is chiefly through the discoveries and contributions of original workers that those facts and principles are discovered through which the state seeks a more advanced stage of civilization and culture.

It would be easy enough to make a catalogue of the things the university should do for the state, and show by an appeal to history that even from a pecuniary point of view higher institutions of learning have been worth much more than they have cost; but the best thing that they have done is in the direction of intellectual freedom. Every dollar expended properly in a university is so much toward freeing the human mind from the bondage of prejudice, ignorance and superstition. To free the American slave from the shackles of human slavery was a holy office, but to provide the young men and women of our country with the means and opportunities of freeing themselves from all the shackles that bind them to the lower allurements of life, is not only a holy office, but the most sacred obligation of the state.



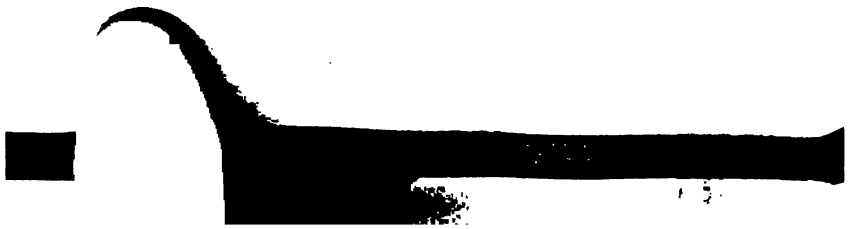
III. STATE AID IN INDIANA.*

In 1895–6 the total expenditure for higher education in colleges of liberal arts, including private, denominational and state institutions, in Illinois was $1,595,180; in Ohio, $1,059,363; in Michigan, $562,246, and in Indiana, $436,060. Thus in the three states bordering on Indiana on the east, north and west, the amount of money devoted to higher education is much greater than in Indiana. Not only is this true in absolute amount, but relatively the money expended per capita is about twice as great in Illinois as in Indiana, and decidedly greater in both Michigan and Ohio than in Indiana. By the census of 1890 the number of people in Illinois was 3,826,351; in Ohio, 3,672,316; in Michigan, 2,093,889, and in Indiana, 2,192,404. Thus in Illinois there is expended $0.42 per capita each year for higher education; in Ohio, $0.28; in Michigan, $0.27, and in Indiana, $0.20. It seems, then, that if the people of Illinois, Ohio and Michigan need to provide higher education for themselves it is much more urgent in Indiana. Nevertheless, Michigan provides three times as much for her state university as Indiana, and Illinois and Ohio each twice as much as Indiana.

THERE IS ROOM AND WORK FOR ALL

If Indiana should allow her three state institutions of higher learning to go down, what would she do with the 3,000 students being educated therein? The other colleges in Indiana certainly have all the students they can properly provide for with the money at their disposal. There is not

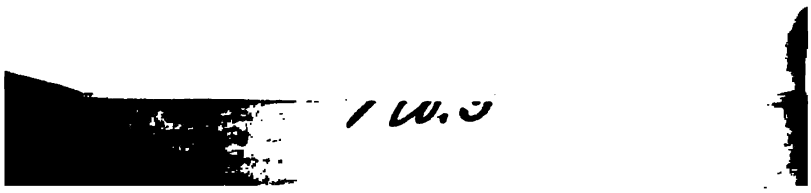
*The statistics in Part III are taken from the New York World Almanac, 1898.



a college in Indiana, private, denominational or state, that has more income than it should have to provide in the best way for the students now on its roll. The additional tuition fees that new students might pay, should these students go to other colleges in the state, would not be sufficient to pay for adequate instruction. Higher education never has and never will be self-sustaining; no increase in instructing facilities comparable to the demands could be made by tuition fees alone. Besides, as Hon. S. E. Nicholson said in supporting an appropriation to the state institutions, there are many students in the state who, in the interest of the state, should be educated who would not obtain an education unless the state provided for it.

It was said by Read, in the constitutional convention of 1851:

"But, sir, the idea prevails to some extent that the college ought to be under the control and patronage of particular churches. No man ever heard me utter a syllable against the noble and persevering efforts of some of our religious denominations in building up institutions of education. I honor them for their efforts. This is a broad land. There is room and work for all. Besides, the state university—not claimed as its own by any denomination—is needed fo fill precisely the ground which it occupies. But for it, there is a class of young men who would go out of the state, or not enter any institution."



IV.—LEGISLATION FOR STATE AID TO INDIANA UNIVERSITY.*

On March 26, 1804, congress passed an act making provisions for the "disposal of the public lands in the Indiana Territory, and for other purposes." In this act it was provided "that a township in each of these land districts should be located by the secretary of the treasury for the use of a seminary of learning."

On the 10th of October, 1806, Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, located Township No. 2 south, range 11 east, now in Gibson county, Indiana, for the use of a seminary of learning, as required by said act.

By the act to provide for the admission of Indiana as a state of the union, on April 19th, 1816, congress provided "that one entire township, which shall be designated by the President of the United States, in addition to the one heretofore reserved for that purpose, shall be reserved for a seminary of learning." On July 10th, 1816, President Madison designated Perry township, Monroe county. Thus one township in Gibson county and one in Monroe county were set aside for a "seminary of learning."

In the Constitution of Indiana adopted at Corydon, in 1816, it was declared to "be the duty of the general assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a state university, wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all." The modification of this provision of the constitution of 1851 will be discussed later.

*The facts in Part IV concerning legislation are, in the main, taken from Dr. Wylie's History of Indiana University.

On January 20, 1820, an act was passed by the Legislature in session in Corydon establishing a state seminary at Bloomington.

An act was passed on January 22, 1822, providing for the sale of the seminary township in Gibson county, and requiring the money to be paid into the state treasury, "that it may be made a productive fund for the benefit of the state seminary."

By an act approved January 25, 1827, James Smith, of Gibson county, and James Borland, of Monroe county, were appointed commissioners, with power to sell the reserved seminary lands in these townships; but three sections, one on the east, one on the south, one on the west most contiguous to the section on which the seminary buildings were situated, were reserved from the sale.

Under this act about 17,000 acres of land in Gibson county were sold and the proceeds paid into the state treasury, to be accredited into the state seminary, college and university funds.

THE "INDIANA COLLEGE" ESTABLISHED.

By an act approved January 24, 1828, a college was established at Bloomington under the name and style of "The Indiana College" for the education of youth in the American learned and foreign language, the useful arts, sciences and literature. All the property of the state seminary, and all the funds from the two townships of land were turned over to the trustees of the Indiana College.

On February 15, 1838, "an act to establish a university in the state of Indiana" was approved. By this act it was provided that "all moneys which have hitherto or which may hereafter arise from the sales of the seminary township

of land in the counties of Monroe and Gibson shall be and forever remain a permanent fund for Indiana University." All other property belonging to the Indiana College was also turned over to the university.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1851 AND THE UNIVERSITY.

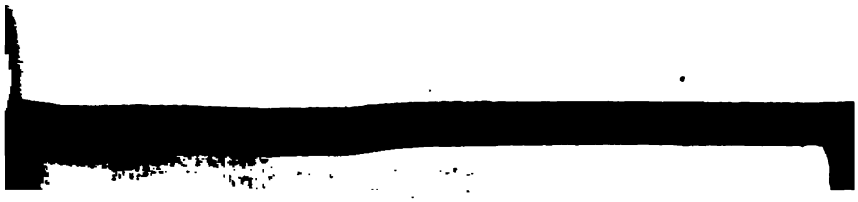
There was a new constitution adopted in 1851, in which the statement concerning higher education was omitted. There were some men in the convention who were opposed to the state university, but they were largely outnumbered by the friends, and by a vote of 73 to 48 it was decided that the university funds should not be diverted either to the common schools or to other incorporated colleges in the state. In this discussion of the trust funds which related solely to the university and university fund, Mr. Dobson, of Owen and Greene, said:

"If gentlemen will read the obligation we have put ourselves under to the general government, they will see there is no necessity for saying a word about the university in the constitution, the act of Congress approved April 19, 1816, having been accepted and agreed to by the convention, June 29, 1816, was binding on both parties from that date, and we could not, if we would, discharge ourselves from the obligation that that acceptance laid upon us."

The constitution of 1851, art. 8, sec. 1, declares:

"Knowledge and learning generally diffused throughout a community, being essential to the preservation of a free government, it shall be the duty of the general assembly to encourage by all suitable means, moral, intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement, and to provide by law for a general and uniform system of common schools, wherein tuition shall be without charge, and equally open to all."

Thus the constitution of 1851 makes it the duty of the general assembly not only to provide for a system of common schools, but to "encourage by all suitable means, moral,



intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement." No man has ever questioned, so far as I know, that the providing of higher institutions of learning is a "suitable means" of encouraging "moral, intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement."

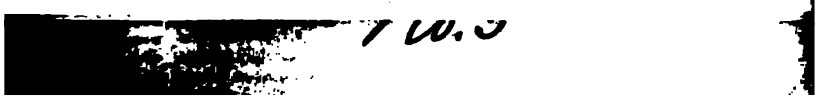
An act approved June 17, 1852, the year following the adoption of our present constitution, provided that "the institution established by an act to establish a college in the state of Indiana, approved January 28, 1828, is hereby recognized as the university of the state."

"THE CROWNING GLORY OF OUR COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM."

In the year 1867 it was recognized by the legislature that the interests on the funds derived from the congressional grants were not sufficient for the growing needs of the institution, and the legislature, on March 8 of this year, passed an act appropriating $8,000 annually. The preamble of the act recognized the university as the head of the common school system. It is as follows:

"Whereas, The endowment fund of the university, located at Bloomington, Monroe county, is no longer sufficient to meet the growing wants of education, and make said university efficient and useful; and, whereas, it should be the pride of every citizen of Indiana to place the state university in the highest condition of usefulness and make it the crowning glory of our present great common school system, where education shall be free; therefore, etc."

By an act of February 19, 1873, after asserting that the amount appropriated by the act of 1867, together with the interest on the endowment fund had "become wholly inadequate to meet the growing wants of public education, and is not sufficient to enable said university rightly to provide for



the education of all who are seeking instruction within her walls, and to accomplish her true mission as the head of our present great system of common schools, where education shall be free to all," an additional appropriation was made.

In 1883 the legislature provided a tax of 1-20 of a mill on every dollar of taxable property in Indiana, to run for thirteen years, to promote a permanent endowment fund for the university. This fund, together with the interest of the township land fund, yields about $33,000 annually. With an appreciation of the growth of the university and greater understanding of its needs, together with a better realization on the part of the people that the university is the head of the public school system—a fact that had been repeatedly recognized by the legislature—the legislature increased the annual appropriation from time to time until, in lieu of the annual appropriation for maintenance, the legislature of 1895 passed a tax of 1-15 of a mill on every dollar of taxable property in the state. This yields about $80,000 annually. This is what the people of the state are now contributing for the support of the university, less than four cents per capita. In other words, the average voter pays less than fifteen cents annually for the support of the university. The man of small means pays much less and the poor man almost nothing.

These repeated acts of legislation for the university proved that one legislature after another in Indiana has accepted, without question, the principle of state support of higher education. It further shows that interest in the university has steadily increased with the growth of wealth and intelligence in the state. It is certainly to be expected that this interest will continue to grow with the years.

The people of Indiana are getting an immense return for the relatively small amount of money they are expending

on their state university. "I am glad to say now, as I have always said," says Dr. Coulter, "that Indiana University does more with less money than any institution I know of."

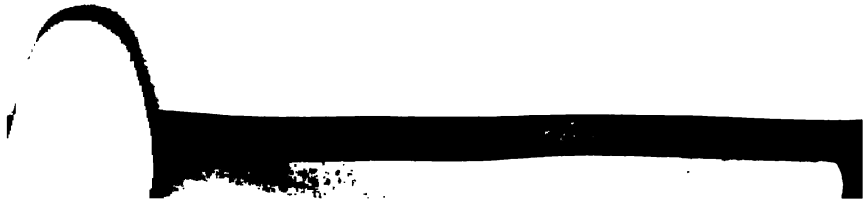
ITS INCREASING SERVICE TO THE STATE.

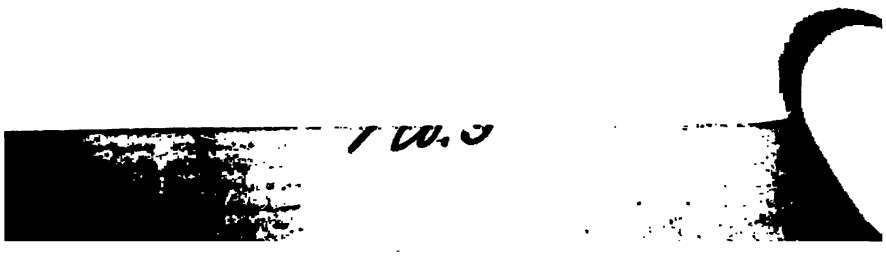
Each year the institution becomes of greater service to the commonwealth. The time will certainly come when the state will support the institution in a way commensurate with its importance to the state and more nearly as liberally as state universities in other states are supported.

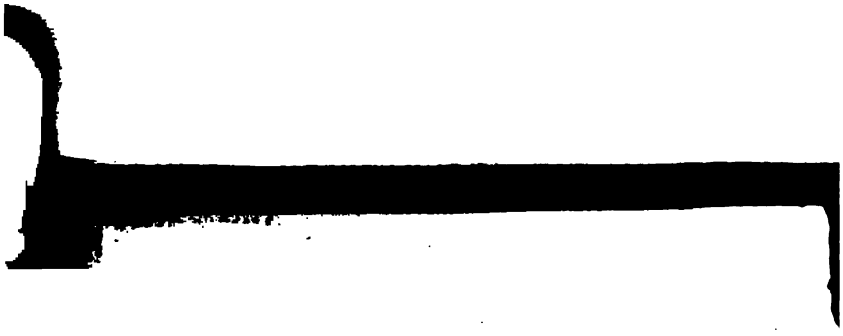
The people of Indiana are to be congratulated that they can provide present facilities at so small a cost for their sons and daughters to prepare themselves to become leaders in their communities and make life better and happier around them. What citizen of Indiana begrudges his share?

Who can estimate the far-reaching influence for good to Indiana of the advanced study of 1,000 students each year from every county and every calling of the commonwealth—students who are preparing themselves to be leaders in the struggles for the higher citizenship and higher life in the first half of the twentieth century.

While it must be admitted that higher education has had its opponents, like every other movement for the elevation of mankind, it has now become an integral part of the common school system, for which the rising generation should bless the memory of our fathers.







VALEDICTORY ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE FIRST COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF THE DENTAL DEPARTMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

BY

S. W. DENNIS, M. D., D. D. S.

Ex-Dean and Professor of Operative Dentistry and Dental Histology in the Dental Department of the University of California; Ex-President of the California State Dental Association, San Francisco Dental Association, California State Board of Dental Examiners, and San Francisco Microscopical Society; ex-Vice-President of the American Dental Association, Inter-National Medical Congress, Dental Section, and American Society of Microscopists; Member Royal Microscopical Society, American Medical Association, and Medical Society of the State of California, and Associate Member of the New York Odontological Society, and Corresponding Member of Ohio State Dental Association,
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VALEDICTORY

(ON BEHALF OF THE FACULTY)

——BY——

S. W. DENNIS, M. D., D. D. S.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Since the dawn of civilization, the enfranchisement of human reason, the cultivation of human thought and character, it has been customary for the friends of education and educational institutions to assemble on occasions of this kind, and rejoice at the welding of another link to the great and endless chain of intellectual development and human progress; also to bid God-speed to the first offerings of the institution's maternal care.

The problem of education, in every civilized land, has engaged the earnest attention and consideration of the most intellectual and progressive minds, and is acknowledged by all to be one of difficult solution.

But there can be no question that the limit of human life, of mental power, and the incomprehensibility of universal law and matter by man, demand the organization of thought, the division of labor and the classification of education.

DENTAL COLLEGES AND DENTAL EDUCATION.

In general terms we define a Dental College to be a school of Dentistry, embracing a prescribed course of study for the crystalization and centralization of knowledge pertaining to the dental organs, and the diffusion of that knowledge in the profession and among the people.

The late Professor Austin said: "But few minds can even approach that universality of genius which characterized Hippocrates and Hunter, hence devotion to a specialty of the medical art detracts nothing from the position which a man's talents entitle him to assume.

"Where are we to look for the most valuable contributions to medical science and literature, except to those who apply themselves exclusively to some one class of diseases."

One hundred years of experience in one of the Universities of the East developed the necessity of a formal recognition of those principles.

But when steps were *first* taken by some of the modern and progressive thinkers and teachers in that institution, and plans submitted to the authorities for the segregation of instruction, one of the oldest *retired* teachers, of influence and affluence, (through his legacy) said, "we want no specialists, our students must know it all."

But when the inflexible law (which equalizes the will and power of man and human events)—death—intervened, then, in addition to the chairs already existing, those of Gynecology, Opthalmology, Otology, Dermatology, and two of Dentology were created, and are now in operation, to the infinite credit and satisfaction of all.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF DENTISTRY.

Had the custom of cremation prevailed in ancient times, the *art* of Dentistry might have been forever lost.

An examination of the teeth of Egyptian mummies reveals the fact, that the *art* of Dentistry was practiced at that remote period, though it was never carried to that high degree of excellence and perfection which it has attained in modern times.*

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*It has been alleged by some and denied by others that the teeth of Egyptian mummies contain gold fillings—it being claimed by the latter that even though there be gold found on or in them it was put there for ornamental purposes—in other words, placed there for adornment rather than for the arrest and prevention of caries.

To illustrate we make the following quotations :

"From the writings of Herodotus (about 450 B. C.) we learn that the treatment of the teeth constituted a separate branch of practice among the Egyptians, and the truth of this is corroborated by the testimony of the celebrated Giovanni Balzani, noted for his discoveries in Egypt. He informs us that in ancient tombs artificial teeth of ivory and wood were found, some fastened on gold plates. Gold fillings have been found in the teeth of mummies."—MEREDITH.

Again, from the BRITISH JOURNAL OF DENTAL SCIENCES we make the following extract, Vol. XXXII, p. 68 :

"It must be remembered that the special contention is (with those who believe in the theory) that the life of the pericementum, is capable of being resucitated just as the 'mummy corn' retains its vitality for an indefinite length of time.

"This alleged analogy is somewhat unfortunate, for amongst botanists the statements as to the vitality of mummy seeds is discredited as is the statement as

A perusal of ancient and modern literature reveals the most conclusive evidence that Dentistry, so called, was conducted then by *all*, as it is now by *many*, as a business, and not a profession, it being the universal custom then, (as it is to some extent now) to traffic with human organic tissue as the merchant does with his wares or as the miller does with the product of the soil.

THE FIRST DENTAL COLLEGE.

When individual members of society assemble to take cognizance of, to consider and to rectify, great public evils, they are actuated by the purest motives known to man.

When members of a profession associate themselves for intellectual and professional culture, it is then that they give expression to those nobler sentiments out of which all philanthropic institutions are founded.

But when members thereof begin to reflect upon how such institutions are to affect their personal or material welfare, then the baser elements of a man's nature are liable to take possession of his soul, and human character gives way to human nature, to the great detriment of all.

It is with organizations as with individuals. They know the beneficial effect of harmony and obedience to law, as well as the danger from discord, and still, while recognizing the disorganizing effect of the latter, they may not have the moral power to divert the conflicting influences which lead to a fatal end.

It was the immortal Lincoln who wrote to a friend in his native State, Kentucky, and said: "You know and admit that human slavery is both a national and sectional evil, but you do not know how to eradicate that evil."

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to mummy gold fillings amongst dentists. A correspondent in *Nature*, Vol. 35, 1887, pp. 114, 463, 582, clearly shows that competent botanists do not accept the case of the germination of seeds taken from Egyptian tombs as authentic, and have universally condemned as utterly worthless the evidence given in support of alleged instances of the germination.

"The fruitful source of error has been the deception at the outset of the credulous experimenter by the Arab. One correspondent points out that the mummy wheat of one well-known traveler grew up in the form of oats—a plant not cultivated by ancient Egyptians, but now grown in the land they inhabit—though this did not shake his faith in the genuine source of his supply."—CUNNINGHAM.

Such questions are often settled by those minds free from sectional and individual bias, but still interested in what concerns the public weal or woe.

Thus, it has been among us, as in other communities. Individuals have assembled who recognized, within an element of society, great wrongs, and the necessity of specific action and specific culture for the amelioration of those wrongs.

In 1839, a few—only four—leading spirits, headed by Doctor Chapin A. Harris, petitioned the Legislature of Maryland for a charter for a Dental College.

Every possible obstacle was thrown in their way.

Those men were discouraged by their friends and derided by their enemies.

It was regarded *then* by almost all, as it is even *now* by many, as a needless and useless innovation.

It was then, as now, and there as here, that conflict retarded the wheels of progress for a time: but finally they rolled on.

Since the birth of the Baltimore Dental College some eighteen similar colleges have been organized in the United States.

Many have had a prolonged, useful, some a checkered career, and others an ephemeral existence.

In 1868, by an organic Act of the Legislature, the University of California was founded, and since that time different colleges have been instituted, as public necessities and private endowments have made it seem feasible and wise to the legal custodians of the public educational wants and necessities.

So, in obedience to public requirements and professional importunities, extending from 1870 to 1881, the Board of Regents, on September 7, 1881, instituted this Dental Department as an integral College of the University of California, making, I believe, in all, fifteeen dental colleges, up to the present time, in active operation in this country.

REQUIREMENTS OF DENTAL COLLEGES.

In dental colleges there is no fixed or arbitrary law of teaching.

All have the chairs of Anatomy, Physiology and Chemistry, or at all events these branches are taught to some extent, in addition to the regular chairs of Operative and Mechanical Dentistry.

This college is composed of seven chairs, which are as follows:

1. Dental Pathology and Therapeutics.
2. Principles and Practice of Operative Dentistry and Dental Histology.
3. Mechanical Dentistry.
4. Physiology.
5. Anatomy.
6. Principles and Practice of Surgery.
7. Chemistry and Materia Medica.

The question is often asked: What do all or any of those have to do with dentistry?

Or, in the language of the immortal Webster, What is all this worth?

Dentistry, formerly by all, as now by many, was regarded as purely a "mechanical business." The substitution of artificial teeth in the place of those lost by accident or design, constituting the maximum, and the treatment of the natural organs by surgical and therapeutic means being the minimum, portion of the practice

But step by step the standard of requirements has been raised, and it has been proven to be *quite possible* for a man of *considerable* culture to be even as good a mechanic as one who is entirely unacquainted with the laws governing matter with which and upon which he operates.

Yet it is *absolutely certain* that the highest order of all professional skill and intelligence is but the outgrowth of a study of the laws and relations of matter which produce all works of great excellence.

Spencer asks: "What knowledge is of most worth?" and his answer is, "Science."

"For the direct self-preservation or the maintenance of life and health, the all-important knowledge is science."

"For the indirect preservation, which we call gaining a livelihood, the knowledge of the greatest value is science."

"For the most perfect production and the highest enjoyment of art in all its forms, the needful preparation is still science."

Hence it has been thought to be eminently proper and wise, that a practitioner of dentistry should be acquainted with physiology, that he may know the laws of life and health, and therefore be better able to recognize and treat all diseases pertaining to his specialty.

The immediate and vital relation of the organs of mastication to the nervous and circulatory systems would make it apparent to the most casual observer, that a knowledge of anatomy would be necessary to prevent, if not to rectify, some of the fatal issues that have resulted from *too little* knowledge, or no knowledge at all, of these vital and important parts.

What part dental education is to play in the solution of the question, now receiving the earnest consideration of the whole civilized world, I do not know, but I do know that it will be to the science of chemistry that we must look for, and from the dental profession we ought to expect, an investigation into the causes of the general and almost universal devastation of human teeth, under so-called modern civilized life.

And it is quite reasonable to expect that it will be our department of science that will take up the question of the consideration of food, and cause the enactment of such laws as shall punish persons who are known to traffic with human health and life by compounding articles of diet which they know to be disorganizing and fatal in their action upon both special and general tissue.

Surgery is defined as the art of healing diseases by manual operations, hence the degree of Doctor of Dental Surgery; but Surgery is something more.

In dentistry the narrowest application of this would be to the cutting of teeth into cavities of proper shape and filling them with indestructible material.

However, I have heard a very eminent surgeon say that a well-educated practitioner of dentistry ought to be better able to perform all operations upon the mouth successfully than a general surgeon, because he is constantly operating about the parts, and is, or should be, therefore, more familiar with them.

The Chair of surgery is utilized in our Dental College to enable those of ambition, after having received a thorough training, to extend their sphere of usefulness to what is known as Oral Surgery.

This is the broadest application of the principle.

Histology is a study of the infinite and wondrous world beyond the power of unaided vision.

It is through the microscope that the development of the dental organs has been studied from conception to their full maturity, and by

it the minute anatomy of teeth as well as some of their diseases have been determined.

SENIOR CLASS.

We shall regard your entrance into the Dental Department as the beginning of your professional lives.

It has been affirmed that the most trying part of the journey of life is in severing the moorings of home; and it might be asked if one stopped then to consider the adverse winds and under-currents or even the strength of his craft, whether he would ever start, or cross the threshhold of his innocent and early joys. If not, what then would have become of our country, "the oldest in geological formation and the newest in civilization," and the mother of the profession we have assembled to honor and to perpetuate?

You were brought hither from different parts of the State through your own ambition and your own choice.

You have come to recognize, to sustain and to honor, an institution the profession and the people have been in need of, and seeking, for years.

You have come to *encourage it*, and *thus* to be made *legitimate* practitioners of the profession you have chosen.

You came like so much bullion alloyed with some base metal. You have passed through a process of refining, and have received the die of approval, and to-night you are to be received into the profession with all the rights and privileges pertaining to the degree for which you have labored diligently and faithfully.

As it were, you are on this occasion united to the profession you have chosen.

Although you have been refined, and received the stamp of approval, you will, notwithstanding, have your purity questioned.

Like coin from the mint, you may go to the extremes of the earth, be knocked about, or dashed upon the counter, to test your purity.

If you are conscious of that purity, and you maintain it, you will always be taken, in the end, for your full value; while the counterfeit, when detected, will be cast into the company where it belongs.

Your luster for a period may be dimmed through circumstances over which you have no control, because you are associated with some men from whom you receive the deadening and contaminating stain.

But if you maintain the characteristic ring you will be known and recognized by it.

You will find it difficult to compete with practitioners without knowledge.

You will wonder how the counterfeit can pass so long from one person to another without detection; but you must maintain *your* character, else the detectives will begin to make inquiries as to your origin, and then your Alma Mater may be scrutinized and possibly condemned.

The conflict between your ideas and those of otherwise educated people will have a tendency to make you hesitate in a choice between right and wrong.

What Humboldt says of the uncivilized races applies to the civilized, in a modified degree.

He says that the "Orinoco Indians, though quite regardless of bodily comfort, will yet labor for a fortnight to purchase pigment wherewith to make themselves admired."

Herbert Spencer says: "Indeed the facts of aborginal life seem to indicate that dress is developed out of decoration, and when we remember that even among ourselves most think more of the fineness of the fabric than of its warmth, and more about the cut than the convenience, when we see that the function is in a measure subordinate to the appearance, we have further reasons for inferring such an origin."

When we observe intelligent people making the care of their children's organs of mastication, or their appointments with the family dentist of secondary importance to that of visiting, playing, dancing, swimming, music and schooling, etc., we not only observe the difficulties besetting our pathway, but also the good we may be able to do in elevating the public estimation of the importance of a higher regard for these specific functions of life and the laws to be observed for their preservation.

Every one should, and many do, feel a deep interest in what concerns the health and comfort of individuals and society, and still the time and money devoted to the care of hair, eyes, complexion, domestic animals, even tobacco and the intoxicating cup, make us naturally ask, is there not some perversion of taste and diversion of wealth that might be turned to a better account.

It has been the custom of all new dental colleges, as it is still with many old ones, to admit to their senior class, or graduating class, those practitioners who have had five years' practice, this being considered as equivalent to one term; two terms under other circumstances being required.

This faculty determined, at the very outset, to depart from that custom, and to elevate the standard by requiring seven years' practice, instead of five, for admission to that class.

ENDOWMENT.

We belive an institution founded purely in the interest of the people should receive the moral and financial support of the people.

All evidences of an individual life and one's financial wealth may soon pass away, but those institutions founded upon the wealth of human character may have a long and definite existence, and are monuments to the memory of a man, more lasting and more valuable than any mausoleum erected over the worthless ashes of him who lives for himself and his kindred alone.

IS THERE ENOUGH TO DO?

You have been informed that there are at least five localities upon each tooth that are liable and susceptible to dental caries, and under abnormal conditions there are many more.

Calculating the population of the United States from a normal standpoint, there are one billion, nine hundred and twenty millions teeth.

If one-quarter of the people pay no attention whatever to their dental organs, and another quarter have all their teeth extracted, *then* there would be nine hundred and sixty millions left, with at least five surfaces liable to need operative attention, making four billions, eight hundred millions cases of caries requiring our attention.

And, on the basis that each practitioner operated eight hours per day, and every working day in the year, should each practitioner in the United States, of which there are fifteen thousand to-day, pay the attention he ought to each individual case, at least one hour (it

often takes several to do justice), it would require upward of one hundred and twenty-eight years to perform the operations that ought to receive attention at this moment, excluding all artificial work and time given other diseases constantly calling for the urgent attention of the practitioner.

ALMA MATER.

You must always keep in view the well-being of your Alma Mater.

The purity and activity of the heart is in proportion to the benign influences of its surroundings; like the purity of a river, as it empties into the sea, it is in proportion to that of its tributaries.

It has been said, and wisely, that "the life of nations, societies and institutions, has no fixed and determinate limits."

"It may be so ephemeral as to leave no trace upon the sands of time, or it may live for centuries, and gaining strength with increase of years, seem destined to immortality."

"The judicious student of history is apt to discover that the longevity of institutions, like that of animals or plants, depends first of all upon the inherent vitality, the perfection of its structure, and the freedom and regularity of its action, and then upon the external circumstances to which it was related."

"Whenever a nation or institution develops its natural power by the diligent cultivation of whatever will promote its growth, then it becomes strong and independent."

It is not so much the form as the acts of government that develop the resources of a nation or an institution; neither is it so much the conduct of a student within the institution as that of the practitioner after he has gone out of it into society, that gives tone and dignity to it.

There are many difficulties to be overcome in the organization of all new institutions.

There are many responsibilities, which fall upon the chief executive officer of any college, which must be assumed and met promptly.

These duties do not tend to increase that officer's popularity, except with those who are of sufficient breadth of views to make their temporary, individual, passionate feelings subservient to the permanent welfare of the institution which it is their duty to sustain. It is a note

worthy fact that the best students and best scholars are also the best friends of their Alma Mater.

PROFESSIONAL CHARACTER.

In severing forever our present relation, I shall take this occasion to state, that the medical profession and its collateral branches are robbed of more than half their dignity and public confidence by the indulgence of disparaging remarks against each other.

However much true quackery ought to be condemned, your equals, and particularly your superiors, in the profession, seeking or occupying an elevated professional plane, ought not to be assailed.

You should consider the large amount of good one does, not the small proportion of harm.

The assassin with his dagger is not more dangerous or cowardly than the slanderous tongue.

A passionate mob can smite from the face of the earth, in the darkness of a single night, a city, with all of its evidences of intelligence, the accumulations of ancient and modern art and industry, that are the product of a thousand years of study and toil.

So, a biased judgment can rob a man of his reputation for a time, even his liberty, upon insufficient evidence, whose character is without taint and whose motives are above reproach.

MORAL CHARACTER.

As the magnetic point is deflected by base metal and the ship upon the trackless ocean veered from her course, so is the student liable to be influenced and drawn from the true and manly path by evil and base motives.

There are two ways from which you are to choose—the broad and the narrow.

The former is full of temptation; at every step you will be beset by the foes—pride, indulgence, indolence and sensuality.

The former is not only broad, but it is downward.

Each successive step is accompanied by a progressive dimunition of self-respect, until at last by one's own depravity he gravitates to the bottomless pit of hopeless and eternal despair.

From the Author.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

CONCERNING

—THE—

HIGHER EDUCATION.

An Address before the Western Association of Collegiate Alumnæ, Oct. 30th, 1886, Chicago.

BY

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(VASSAR COLLEGE)

Teacher of Rhetoric and Anglo-Saxon at Smith College.

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Concerning Higher Education.

It is an odd conceit in one of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays by which an honest grocer, having taken his wife to the theater, is coaxed into lifting her to a place on the stage that she may give the players the benefit of her advice. The novelty of such responsibility in no wise awes her; her imagination works as vigorously on the stage as it had ever done in the back shop. The play shows us her unquestioning complacency as she sets aside the manager's anxiety, turns tragedy into comedy, puts the plot by the ears and in spite of the pleading of the prompter and the bewilderment of the audience seems about to gain a bizarre but undoubted success by the substitution of her own insistence for dramatic unity—when she stops, turns to her husband and exclaims: "George, I would have something done, and I cannot tell what it is." The break-down is characteristic. For the last hundred years women have been hearing of the higher education; they have prayed and worked for it—now when the matter is largely in their own hands, some of the foremost own to a subtle misgiving—they find themselves in a position not unlike that of the grocer's wife, they would have something done, and they cannot tell what it is.

It is a habit now-a-days to speak of the higher education of women as a foregone conclusion. Whether this be anything more than a fashion of speech or not, it should serve as a danger-signal to the observant, for set phrases about great movements are as significant as barnacles on a ship's bottom; they mean the repair-dock, if nothing more.

And unless I misread the signs of the times, our ideas of the higher education are in need of reconstruction. Among the host of women who have had courses in all the arts and sciences and are, nevertheless, not highly educated, in the multitude of short cuts to culture, we are losing sight of the

generic marks of the object we would obtain. The higher education is fast becoming a truism, which is a species of deteriorated truth.

It requires moral courage to question a common-place, since the world is likely to value the orderly arrangement of its dried specimens of truth more highly than their possible revival by the letting in of a little air.

A certain thoughtful and experienced man of my acquaintance turned to an enthusiastic representative of a woman's college not long ago with the simple question: "Is your work in any sense a charity?" I watched their faces. On his was patience, that slowly gave way to disappointment; on hers a variety of emotions that said as plainly as words: "I have studied in college, I have taught in college, I have paid for my share of education and drawn a salary for educating other people, but I have never known whether it was a charity or not." But she said: "Of course it is." The difference between work done with that spirit behind it and measuring tape is only a matter of taste.

There is, I am sure, more doubt and uncertainty among the intelligent women of New York and Boston to-day as to the character and claims of the higher education than there has ever been opposition to it on the part of men. Its foes are, in a peculiar sense, of its own household. One of the results of this uncertainty is to be found in the constant experimenting that is going on in the secondary schools. There are French schools and English schools, schools with masters and with head mistresses, courses of study for the modern languages and manners, and others for arithmetic and a mid-day luncheon. One makes a virtue of its large numbers and emphasizes the discipline to be gained from the friction of a crowd; another limits its clientage to twenty families on Beacon Street, secretly regretting that the laws of debit and credit will not let it stop with five just opposite the Common.

It is hardly possible to be ten minutes in the company of intelligent mothers of girls of this class without hearing anxious questions concerning the precise effect of a knowledge of surd quantities, speculations as to the influence that reciting

before twenty of her companions would have on the proper womanly modesty or the delicate originality of their daughters' minds. Of a club of women (themselves either college graduates or recipients of the so-called higher education in some of its forms) met together in Boston not long ago for the purpose of discussing higher education, one maintained that the best substitute for her own fragmentary knowledge of many things and perpetual headache would be thorough gymnastic training and the study of languages by the natural method. Another, who had graduated at college, studied medicine and never practiced, insisted that the ends of higher education for women could be best met by teaching a girl bookkeeping and history, sending her to Europe to study modern languages one year out of every three until she was eighteen, and then letting her fall in love. One felt sure that the Boston Latin School and the Harvard Annex would meet all demands of the most exacting critic; one that the group system of Bryn Mawr was the only satisfactory treatment of the problem.

All this, so far as the higher education is concerned, is nonsense or it may find a more qualified description in what John Locke would call "a little articulated air." Women must be educated; it is now a little more than seventy-five years since Sydney Smith reduced that moot question to the rank of a respectable truism by his demonstration of these theorems:

That "there is no just cause why a woman of forty should be more ignorant than a boy of twelve years of age."

That "when learning ceases to be uncommon among women, learned women will cease to be affected."

That it is a fallacy to suppose that "if you once suffer women to eat of the tree of knowledge, the rest of the family will very soon be reduced to the same kind of aerial and unsatisfactory diet."

That "nothing can be more perfectly absurd than to suppose that the care and perpetual solicitude which a mother feels for her children depends upon her ignorance of Greek and mathematics; and that she would desert an infant for a quadratic equation."

That "self-complacency can never want an excuse; and the best way to make it more tolerable and more useful is to give to it as high and as dignified an object as possible."

That "among men of sense and liberal politeness, a woman who has successfully cultivated her mind without diminishing the gentleness and propriety of her manners, is always sure to meet with a respect and attention bordering upon enthusiasm."

That "the happiness of a woman will be materially increased in proportion, as education has given to her the habit and the means of drawing her resources from herself."

That "uneducated men may escape intellectual degradation; uneducated women cannot."

That "instead of hanging the understanding of a woman upon walls, or hearing it vibrate upon strings; instead of seeing it in the clouds, or hearing it in the wind, we should make it the first spring and ornament of society, by enriching it with attainments, upon which alone such power depends."

And so far as this phase of the subject is concerned, here is all the law and the gospel. Absolutely nothing more has been said on this topic since Sydney Smith sent his paper to the Edinburgh *Review*, spite of the ink and breath daily spent in its treatment. But Sydney Smith, at least, was under no misapprehension of the real end of his effort—his plea was for the education of women; and, though there is not a suggestion, from end to end of his article, that he thought himself dealing with anything more than its primary phases, yet we find half his positions being treated now as integral parts of the so-called higher education. This confusion is disastrous; it involves us in the expense of doing work that has been already done; and where past results are known and accepted, makes the new movement as truistic as the old. This cannot be, if the higher education is anything more than a name; and for its being something more I find evidence in the very restlessness of public opinion about it. Mere names do not die hard.

The higher education is not a process or a method; it is an

attitude. Its correlative is not the school-room, but life. To be a sharer in the higher education is to undergo as radical and complete a mental reorganization as that known in religion under the name of conversion. Such subtle polarization is at once recognized by its influence on candid souls everywhere, and in the end is independent of the "ologies." A highly educated woman can afford to be ignorant of a great many things, but she must never stop growing.

The first requisite for this new attitude is faith—faith in those higher, finer intuitions, whose birth is a perpetual miracle, and whose culture goes on in the rare atmosphere lying between mental automatonism and genius. Short of this, the higher education could do no more than sham poetry—give us new quotations instead of new culture.

This faith is another name for that direct contact with the underlying mystery in life and thought that seems to be a special endowment of some natures, but which is acquired by painful apprenticeship to the actual. The possession of this faith saves a woman from, what I consider, the characteristic blunder of our sex—mistaking drudgery for work.

The popular fallacy is a grave one that puts so-called "good work" in place of definite accomplishment. Only in a woman's world is it enough to go through the motions without the results of work; for everybody else, the reverence of work for work's sake went out with the middle age sanctity of dirt and pain. There is a world of suggestion in Schiller's name of Spieltrieb (play impulse) for the fine, free activity of the soul when it has successfully met all the demands of sense and form. The everyday contempt for "a dig" is balanced by the crowd's thrill of admiration at the sight of easy heroism or fretless work.

The soul's playtime must be earned, however. A parallel illustration of the truth that perfect flexibility can be gained only through nice adjustment is shown in Lord Lytton's shrewd observation that gaiety is sure to be an offensive thing in any woman except one of the most perfect breeding. The rude chamber-maid in many a woman might escape recognition if there were no such things as leisure or jokes in the

world. Can there be any sharper discrimination of character than that implied in taking one's pleasure sadly?

The failures caused by lack of this faith come before us every day. So many women, unlike Tennyson's moth, wither in a fruitless fire. They make an expensive luxury of martyrdom. We all recognize the woman in Frederick W. Robertson when he cries, "I must pull till the harness galls, pain makes me creative."

Honest faith in one's own relation to the work of the world can never counsel the petty destruction of the power for work. The possession of this intrepidity is one of the strongest elements of power in the distinctively masculine mind, and often enables it to maintain claims whose success would otherwise be inexplicable. Philip Gilbert Hamerton accounts for the extraordinary hold that St. John had over Jane Eyre on the ground that a certain elevated feminine vanity in her was conciliated by his assurances that she would do admirable missionary work. No woman will admit the truth of this analysis. With more or less of vagueness, we all feel that his influence was personal, his was the compelling charm of a nature saturated with belief in the value of its own aims. The conditions under which his claim was asserted were false ones, and he failed to establish it; but the claim was a real one, made possible for the time being by a woman's recognition of the powers of a man's strength, not by his detection of her weakness. But this quality itself is sexless, and it is at once the misfortune and reproach of women that they have not more of it. Reinforced by its tonic quality some women are always beyond the reach of circumstances. Misery cannot subdue them, nor pleasure enervate. They do not cry out to death to deliver them, for life is a perpetual emancipation. The ultimate resource and defense of character lies in the elusiveness of growth. The wisest of her sex can know no more than this.

A second factor in this equation of the higher learning is what I must call the sense of proportion. It is difficult of definition, but it makes its possessor as autocratic as a tea-taster. In one form or another you are constantly meeting it

in life. It is the sense of values that makes a good broker, a sagacious merchant or a great artist.

Culture itself is only another name for a nice discrimination of values, its object not tc repeat to-day's prices, like a stock-exchange ticker, but to make one independent of their rise and fall. The education of woman constantly fails here by substituting one or more special tastes for a universal aptitude. Mallock shadows this truth when he distinguishes the two aspects of literature and poetry. Let me quote:

"The general, catholic use of poetry is not to make us admire the poetry of poems, but discern the poetry of life. I, myself, am devoted to literature as literature, to poetry as poetry. I value it not only because it makes me appreciate the originals of the things it deals with, but for itself. I often like the description of a sunset better than I like a sunset. I don't care two straws about liberty, but my mind is often set all aglow by a good ode to her. Few things give me such pleasure, for the moment, as an apt quotation from Horace or Shakspere; but this, I admit is a hobby—a private hobby —this distinct literary taste, just as a taste for blue china is, and must certainly not be confused with culture in its deeper and wider sense."

To mistake the nature of culture here, is to introduce hopeless confusion into the methods by which it is attained and the ends which it sets forth. The special tastes which have been trained and drilled, ought to act as so many channels for the entrance of an electric current, spreading the infection of its activity through the entire organism. The transformation by which all becomes the whole, is the work of the higher education. When this work has been imperfectly done, eccentricity of some sort results. In New England much is said about culture, perhaps still more is thought about it, and yet it would be difficult to find a region where some of its principal characteristics are less frequently displayed. The painfulness of culture becomes manifest with every sin against proportion.

In this connection a tragic interest attaches to best clothes and Sunday bonnets when compassed by an effort quite out of

proportion to their real value. Would anybody seriously weigh the glories of a well-furnished parlor against the leisure dissipated in housework, or balance the desirability of seal skin sacques by the privacy invaded by boarders? But we are told that many a woman does all this and learns Greek and Hebrew, too. Yes, and if she lives through the experience she dies a good manager, but not a cultivated woman. A soul may be choked as well as starved. A like mistake is made in the method of intellectual training. Studies are treated like boarders, taken in, housed and fed at so much a term; at its end, hostess and guest part with mutual good will. Thoughts are taken into the mind as if it were an oven to give hard or slack bake, the results to be used for immediate consumption. This may be intellectual housewifery—it is certainly not mental growth. The truth is that these things are incidentals, desirable enough in themselves, and only significant when they require the effort necessary to gain the essentials of intellectual life. Once they have overstepped their proper limits in a woman's esteem, let her claims to culture be what they may, she takes her place by poor Mrs. Tulliver, with her pitiful regret for the patterns she chose, the cloths she spun, and, above all, the things with her name on 'em.

Again, this failure to get the values of things shows itself in hurry and greed. Every teacher is familiar with that constantly offered excuse for poor work: : "I want to get all I can, you know." In the midst of constant feeding, the mind remains unfed. From its purely intellectual side, this is one of the most absurd delusions possible; it is exactly as if Barnum's living skeleton should put on the clothes and assume the carriage of the fat man under the impression that he was weighing 300 pounds.

As a safeguard against these mistakes, we hear a good deal, even in New England, of what is called the noble Bohemianism. The Bohemian, according to a recent authority, is the man who, with small means, desires and contrives to obtain the intellectual advantages of wealth, which he considers to be leisure to think and read, travel and intelligent conversation.

As thus described, the Bohemian is hardly less essential to a healthy society than the Mugwump, but he will not keep his place. Having foregone steam heat and silver spoons in the interests of intellectual pursuits, he proceeds to despise these minor blessings and contemptuously avoids the society of those who still use them. Such action is uncalled for, and is a sin against proportion. A man is as much a Philistine for ascribing evil qualities to silver spoons as for finding in their possession a saving grace. It is quite as abnormal to hate conventions as it is to be enamored of them. And it must be admitted that the Bohemian, whether man or woman, has no name to the title of noble who is not as much at ease in the presence of conventions as in their absence. Nobody can afford to despise what he cannot master. To be irritated at the lack in oneself of acquirements which have been intelligently postponed for higher ends is surely the mark of a petty soul. To be irritated at the possession by others of acquirements which one has neglected to gain is still pettier. All the graces and amenities of life claim allegiance from the Bohemian, in exact proportion to his nobility, so long as they do not interfere with his higher ends. Failure to meet these demands is not a mark of Bohemianism but of the laziness inherent in the natural man. Shakspere was guilty of more than a geographical solecism when he gave Bohemia a sea-coast; it is hemmed in on every side by neighbors and its most loyal citizens are those who pay the heaviest frontier duties of sympathetic observance. There is no port at which the true Bohemian can take ship and put an ocean between himself and these subtlest responsibilities.

But whether in Bohemia or Hanover Square, this sense of values, when put into action, appears as grace, and grace is the outward and visible sign of the inward and spiritual economy, to which straight lines and curves are nobly indifferent as being, under changed conditions, the shortest distance between two points.

And so the higher education ought to supply a woman with a judgment at once autocratic, instructive and sympathetic. Its decisions should be as final as those of Kant's categorical

imperative—holding good in a world of adjustment so delicate that a blunder is worse than a crime.

A third essential of the higher education is responsibility; and here it might seem that women would have no lesson to learn. We have always been taught that they were embodied consciences, with a moral sense so vital that it is the last good thing to die in their characters, and the first to revive. Much of this is the most misleading truism; women are responsible much as dogs have thumbs, and I distinctly charge existing methods of education with having left this rudimentary sense much as they found it. A clever young woman, teaching in a fashionable school in New York, wrote not long ago, to a friend who, she thought, was insisting upon too high a grade of work—"Of course you understand that our school is preparatory to marrying a millionaire." With all due regard for my friend's powers of satirical observation, a very little search into the working of her school convinced me that she had stated exactly what it was *not*. Had she been able to make good her words, her school would have been unique. Had it prepared girls to marry millionaires, instead of to be supported and indulged by them, one might now be looking for a comparatively early settlement of the labor question. No existing accusation can be so damaging to the higher education of women as the simple statement that the main result of the labor troubles of the past four years, so far as educated women are concerned, has been the formation of clubs to study text books on political economy. The womanly responsibility of the country can still find scope enough in the discussion of the comparative merits of Mill and Carey, Wayland and Sumner. These are only horn-book and primer methods; one riot is enough to teach us that the laws of supply and demand do not govern a mob; that only one side of even the most enlightened theory of rent appeals to a brick-layer's wife. Economic theory, with its prescriptions of generalized laws to be taken alternately every two hours, religion, with its exhortations to charity, do not touch the root of the matter. It is all a question of social proportion and individual responsi-

bility, in which women, as long as they remain the great incentives to effort, must do the bulk of the work. The public opinion that stays at home in Courtlandt Street cellars, is the real backing of the strikers at the horse-car company's offices; and this public opinion can not be reached by petitions to the Legislature, by sermons, or by the policeman's "billy;" for in America even the law does not strike a woman. One department of this practical problem women have had almost exclusive possession of for many years, and it might be supposed that their increased enlightenment and improving administration would have produced a model order of things. But the whole question of domestic service was never so badly off as it is to-day. Granting all that is possible to the confusing influence of immigration and fluctuating social conditions, there still remains a wide margin of misrule attributable to nothing but a lacking sense of responsibility. If every supposedly educated woman in the last fifty years had had the eyes to see and the will to meet her duties as mistress, is it conceivable that there would now be so complete a blank where the corresponding feeling among servants ought to be? It is a standing disgrace to the alleged influence of the higher education that there is so little field for self-respecting workers in domestic service. It has come to such a pass that one must fracture a bone, or have a fever, to gain the intelligent service of such women as in our great-grandmothers' times, under the name of "help," washed dishes and went to prayer-meeting, helped train the children, and dying, were buried in the family lot, with the years of their faithful service honorably recorded above their heads. Is not all this a rather heavy premium to put on brittle bones and weak heads as opposed to health and growth?

There is another aspect of this failure which is, if possible, more serious. A keen student of women wrote not long ago—"On the whole I do not think that the frivolity of light-minded women has been so harmful to noble causes as the readiness with which serious women place their immense influence at the service of constituted authorities, however wrongfully those authorities may act." The sense of conduct, about

which Matthew Arnold has so much to say, seems to exist in women too often as a highly generalized abstraction. Do the social and economic relations of sewing women and mill girls owe nothing of their hardships to the neutrality of educated women? A hygienic conscience makes it impossible for a college graduate to run a sewing machine more than a given number of hours a day, but this sensitiveness rarely extends to such exercise of the faculty as would stand in the way of buying hand embroidery at starvation prices, or would prevent a style of expenditure quite irreconcilable with a proper recognition of broad human relations. Feminine culture in America has proved quite equal to the appreciation of Kensington needlework and Oriental art; it has even risen to some originality of effort here. Philanthropy has not fared so well; most of our methods are as out of date as the anti-macassars and Berlin wool landscapes of our English aunts. The proposition that every human being has a right to good food, good air, good water, and to get on in the world, will never be anything but an air-blown truism, until women vitalize it; and this, for the simple reason that their indifference stands for the fatal inertia that is the only real obstacle in the way of natural truth. Somebody has said that it takes a highsouled man to raise the masses to cleaner sties; true, and in a certain sense, this is *all* that he can do, the rest waits for the transforming influence of women on women.

This sense of responsibility manifests itself in a fine irrationality which George Eliot thinks is characteristic of emotion in general, when it refuses to adopt the quantitative views of human anguish that thirteen happy lives are a set off against twelve miserable ones, with a balance on the side of satisfaction. The higher education makes it a duty for women to do what Henry James mockingly calls "weighing moon beams"—it forces them to be still nobly interrogative and tentative, when the ideal Frenchman has pigeon-holed the rest of the world into neat types and classes.

But all this, I am told, is either exactly what everybody has been saying for the last fifty years, or very transcendental and in no way concerned with the practical teaching of girls

and women. I venture to think differently. On the consistent acceptance and intelligent application of these positions, as principles, seems to me to depend exactly this practical quality of which we are talking. Forty-six years ago Dr. West could not find a woman to teach algebra in Rutgers College; he believed that women could master the binomial theory and himself taught one to carry through the work of the first class in the higher mathematics. Afterward he educated a generation of teachers in mathematics and the classics, and has abandoned his work to-day, to become the head of a school for secondary education. I have never heard him set forth his reasons for the change, but they seem to me to lie clearly enough in the relation of his character, with its remarkable benevolence and magnetism, to the conditions of the problem he was interested in. The so-called higher education was becoming more and more a highly systematized and methodized thing that could go of itself. Whatever misgivings he may have felt as to the propriety of such development, of one thing he must have been in no doubt—that the primary education could not go by itself. Certain characteristics in the minds of students he sends to college and into life testify to the reality of such a distinction.

They have been "prepared," as the saying is, by the infusion of something else than the catalogue requirements of Greek, latin and mathematics, and on the existence of this something else depends the possibility of the higher education in every given case.

And just here there is an immense amount of mistaken loyalty among women. It is assumed to be a generous thing to rank each other's abilities more highly than they deserve, a kindly thing to take aspiration for ascertained accomplishment. The highest claims of loyalty, generosity and kindness can be met only by truth. A virtuous woman is a very different thing from an intellectual one, and no conceivable end is served by calling them by the same name. And yet I see this tendency everywhere; the girls in the high school establish a kind of intellectual tariff to protect the recitations of their weak sisters from criticism; in college, discussion of individual abili-

ties is tabooed as bad taste and questionable Christianity. As alumnæ we are truer to each other as women than as workers. I should deplore an exact equality of conditions between men and women in intellectual work on the ground that it would open the way to more bad craft than already exists. A poor pudding is susceptible of easier tests and more immediate rejection than a false philosophy—a true philosophy will take care of itself. In the present state of things, it would be hardly more than magnanimous in us to rejoice if society should force women to be angels; we ought not to complain if it insists that our work shall be honest, by disallowing what is dishonest, and forcing the rest to prove itself. A few years ago one of the leading colleges for women was severely criticised for accepting a legacy burdened with the condition that when the chairs of instruction it endowed should be held by women, the money should be forfeited. The shrewd, old man who made the condition was, in his way, a good friend to women when he established a definite value for their services. When women are worth that endowment to the college, it will be forfeited. If they never are, the chances of blundering work in the departments represented are so much the less.

In this immediate connection it would appear that the claim, so strongly urged by women seventy-five years ago, to an education as good as that of men, is giving place to the assertion of the right to be as badly educated as they, with a prospect of equally good pay. The interests of the higher education of women do not seem to me to be at all involved with the question of the inducements or advantages held out to students in its conduct. The higher education is as final a necessity for some women as the satisfaction of hunger or thirst; for all others it is without significance or harmful. In one case, their presence in the higher schools is an injury to the community; in the other, to the individual. I can hardly imagine more disastrous influences for a woman's moral nature than the living for a term of years in formal relations with a community whose intellectual and spiritual requirements she has neither the ability nor the desire to meet. It is an

injustice to make the higher education responsible for these inevitable shirks or rebels.

And yet are we not in danger of confusing these distinctions by making the conditions of such discipline too easy? The demand for wider opportunities on the part of women seems to be increasingly out of proportion to the number of those who really use the opportunities; and too often the interpretation of the demand itself calls for nothing more than the right to two or three letters over a miscellaneous collection of special courses, irregular work and expert book-keeping in college equivalents. There can be little doubt that the course of the English universities in this regard has been for the best interests of the higher education of women, although undertaken, perhaps, in the spirit of conservatism. At Cambridge, for instance, women are not admitted to the "pass" examinations, but only to the higher ones for the Tripos—thus making it impossible for any woman to make the blunder of supposing that she wishes the higher education, when what she is working for is a degree. These distinctions are better managed in England than with us. The University of London is such a body as it is sometimes proposed that all the colleges of America should make themselves—a body whose *raison d'etre* is expressed in the term, examining board, and whose work is to prescribe courses of study, examine the proficiency of candidates, and confer degrees. But no Englishman ever supposes that the University of London's diploma stands for the same thing as one from Oxford. And no Englishman proposes that they shall be interchangeable. It was an Englishman who said not long ago: "Have a university in shanties, no, in tents, but let there be great teachers in it!" Under, around and above all mere acquirements is this subtile infection of character, making the essence of the higher education as different from erudition, as the good smell of the tender grape is from sheepskin.

I cannot believe that it was nothing more than a narrow-minded wish to protect the business interests of German students that made the Göttingen authorities lately object to the precedent of bestowing their Doctor's Degree upon an American

applicant at the close of his first semester. It serves as a reminder that the degree of the university is, in a measure at least, descriptive of its holder, not simply a business investment. Miss Thomas, the dean of Bryn Mawr, makes it a rule to employ no teachers who do not hold a degree from some foreign university. Does anybody for a moment suppose that it is the parchment she is particular about? She means simply that she wishes a certain kind of scholarship and definite culture, which are gained at these universities; but what would become of her distinction if the ability to answer the questions of the German examiners by cable were all that could be certainly inferred from the possession of the degree? It was a great advance on the existing culture of medicine when Paracelsus insisted that no diagnosis could be satisfactory when made from the knowledge of a given disease as it existed in one nation only. And so he tramped through Europe, gaining what he called knowledge. But the sixteenth century gave him no degree; it called him vagabond instead. If the universities of those days had extended their degree to work so unlike that which occupied their attention, the great service of a great heretic would have been hopelessly merged in routine. Are we not reversing the course of history when we try to bring within the scope of college degrees work, however good in itself, that has been accomplished under other conditions? Such work may be the best of its kind or of any kind, but it is simply introducing confusion into language to call it by the name of something else. At all events, the higher education is the last source from which such confusion ought to be looked for. Its very existence depends upon the maintenance of strict intellectual and spiritual distinctions as the opposite of the "mush of concession" in which it would flounder to its death.

Ten years of experience and observation as a teacher of women have made me familiar with their two most frequently recurring faults—lack of originality and lack of thoroughness. These lacks seem to be not at all inherent in the character of women, but due almost entirely to their false attitude to what they call education.

The calculations made in a certain scientific department under the control of women are known among men working in that branch of science by their inaccuracy. Not one of these men doubts the ability of the women he criticises to deal with problems much more difficult. He simply comments on the failure of this greater ability to bring what he has considered an implied one in its train.

It is a noticeable fact that effort and discussion have concerned themselves chiefly with the intellects of women.

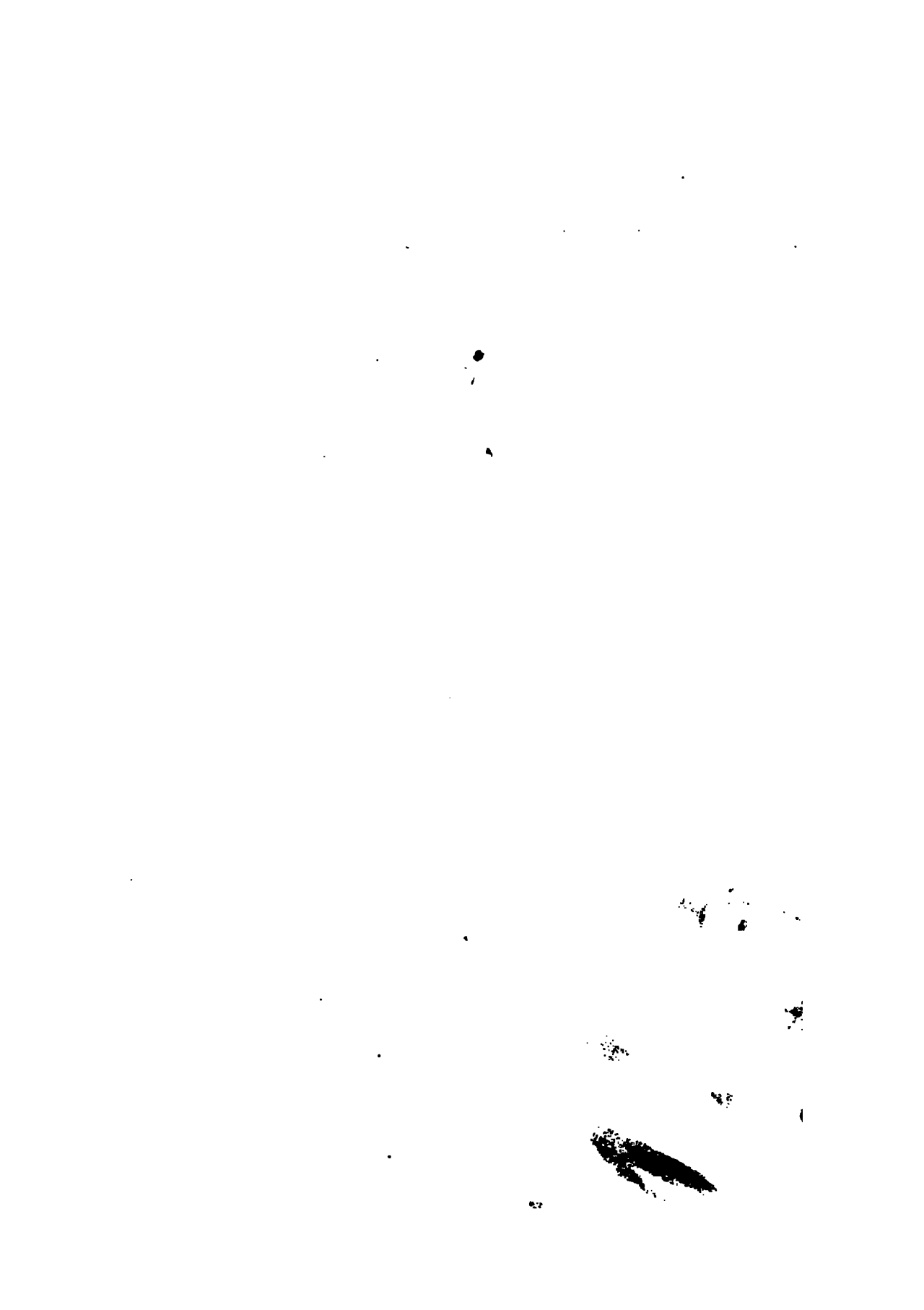
In the desire to prove the integrity and efficiency of a woman's purely intellectual processes, these operations themselves have been over-emphasized and divorced from their natural accompaniments of will and feeling. The result of the separation is illustrated alike in the inability of some women to work their brains from any angle of application, except that familiar in the school-room, and in the unwillingness of others ever to return to that attitude.

It is a capital error in the education of women to ignore the rôle played by their feelings. It is still worse to try to supersede these feelings by what is called good judgment based on logical processes. The logic of feeling is quite as important as the manipulation of syllogisms, and likely to be a good deal more practical. But there is an almost hopeless prejudice against a woman's feelings; they are looked upon as the barrier between her and real success; they are popularly believed to be without rhyme or reason; it is thought dangerous to meddle with them, and peculiarly undesirable that a woman should investigate them herself. As long as the old saw that the knowledge of contraries is one has any force, it will be open to credence that what works a woman's ruin may be her salvation.

The thorough and original development possible to a woman in the line of higher education is dependent upon the amount of feeling which underlies her intellectual acquirements, and, subject to her intelligent control, can be brought to bear upon them.

A pressing need of our educational system to-day is a thorough going psychology, to be applied in the kindergartens

as well as taught to graduating classes. As to method, we need more of Darwin and less of Butler, more of ascertained fact and less of ascertained analogy. It is folly to persuade ourselves that routine will produce anything but hack work. And it makes no difference where this routine is applied, whether on the drill of the secondary schools or in the empty erudition of the higher learning. On the other hand, there are no such things as trifles. Ability to discuss the curve known as the Witch of Agnesi will not make a highly educated woman, but the failure to master it will keep her from being a mathematical scholar. The instincts, sensibilities and discrimination which appear in the sum total of education as results, are no less essential in the processes underlying special ability. One of the New York judges declared that he could tell a first rate lawyer from a second rate one by the papers he sent out of his office, asserting that, other things being equal, the second rate man was sure to have no taste; that his inability to grasp the ideaof legal æsthetics stood for a certain clumsiness, which might make him miss a point of argument. If the schooling of the last two generations of American students had been conducted as much in the interests of conscience and will as of logic, it would not now be necessary for critics to complain that the bane of education is scholarship, the foe of literature, roots; or for foreigners to call attention to the fact that the public school system of the United States does not make honest citizens. It is difficult to respect the scholarship that misuses shall and will in an article of alleged industry and originality on the English subjunctive. It is hard to believe that a man who felt a workmanlike pride in balancing his books would be a defaulting bank president. More conscience of the enlightened sort introduced into the education of women will relieve it from the burden of many objections which are urged against it. The work done will be more independent and will acquire permanence. The higher education will be the fit discipline of a class of self elected women; its methods will be at once catholic and severe; its ends universal and individual. Already the higher education is an organism working itself free from confusion and restraint, a cause fit to engage the loyal service of good women.



The Present Obligations of the Scholar:

A Baccalaureate Address delivered by President Charles Kendall Adams at the University of Wisconsin, June 20, 1897.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

No. 7

THE PRESENT OBLIGATIONS OF THE SCHOLAR

A BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS

BY

PRESIDENT CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

JUNE 20, 1897.

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THE PRESENT OBLIGATIONS OF THE SCHOLAR.

This is the holy day of the educational year. As this period is the end of academic activity, so it is the Commencement of active and responsible life. It is the day when the scholar is married to his vocation. What could be more fitting than that this wedding festival should be held in the most glorious season of the year? The blossoms are commencing to be fruit; the voices of singing birds greet us wherever we go; the fragrance of new life is everywhere. By a kind of proscriptive custom the last week in June is coming to be to education what the last week in December is to religion. All over the land thousands are coming together with glad hearts to pay their annual tribute to the work that has been done and to crown with praises and with blessings the choicest fruits of the year.

To us who have come here today the season seems one of exceptional beauty. These hills have decked themselves with even more than their customary charms. These lakes hold up their mirrors to the surrounding scenes with even more than their accustomed pride. These trees and these lawns and these flowers seem to be rejoicing with more than their wonted vitality and gladness, for they have put on new smiles and a new splendor in recognition of these days.

"Ah, happy hills, ah, pleasing shade
* * * * *
I feel the gales that from ye blow
A momentary bliss bestow,
As waving fresh their gladsome wing
My weary soul they seem to soothe,
And, redolent of joy and youth,
To breathe a second spring."

Within the last year the State has said to us "Well done, we are pleased with your stewardship; we will no longer give you the means of life simply from day to day, or from year to year, but we will enable you to plan your work broadly and largely in the full assurance that so long as you exercise care and wisdom in your trust you shall not fail of receiving our encouraging support." From this bountiful mother, we, her grateful children, are to receive no more than for the past years we have been receiving, but what we receive has been wisely and nobly relieved from the elements of uncertainty and contingency. In all our rejoicings of this day let us not forget this bountiful act of the bountiful mother of the University.

Indeed it seems to me that every thoughtful receiver of these benefactions must on this day of days reflect a little h is own obligations in consequence of these munificent favors. Even the most unmathematical of you can easily estimate the amount of the obligation, so far as it can be measured in dollars and cents. It cannot be repaid in kind, but repaid in one way or another, it must be, if you are to discharge your just obligations.

A part of what you have received has come from the State and a part from the general government. You have shared the benefits of that fixed policy of the nation in providing each of the states with the means of supporting and encouraging education in all its grades. Wisconsin has been one of the most favored beneficiaries of that wise and liberal policy. The state supplements this bequest with her own bounty and then transfers it all to her sons and daughters. It follows that your obligations are due directly to the State, and indirectly to the nation; to the University also, in so far as the institution has administered its trust beneficently and wisely, you are under obligations which I am sure you will not be slow to acknowledge and repay. How shall this debt be paid? This brings me to the subject I have chosen for to-day, namely:

THE PRESENT OBLIGATIONS OF THE SCHOLAR.

The old ideal of the scholar was founded on conditions which have now ceased to exist. The schools of the Middle Ages were not connected directly with the State; but a body of learned men came together and offered their instruction for the fees they received, somewhat as is now done in many of the summer schools. If the names of great benefactors have been preserved it is not because they bound their beneficiaries with any lasting obligations to the State; but rather because in the name of education they reared monuments to themselves and to themselves have established the obligations of perpetual gratitude. William of Wyckham, Queen Margaret, Henry the Sixth, and scores of others responded nobly to the calls of the civilization of their times. Let it not be supposed that the period of large gifts for education began within our own time. Whoever goes into the college grounds at Eton and remembers how many of England's greatest men have there received their inspiration and their impulse, will feel something akin to Gray's benediction:

> "Ye antique spires, ye antique towers
> That crown the watery glade,
> Where grateful science still adores
> Her Henry's holy shade;"

or, better still whoever happens to go into King's Chapel at Cambridge and recalls his Wordsworth can hardly help saying:

> "Tax not the royal Saint with vain expense,
> With ill-matched aims the Architect who planned,
> Albeit labouring for a scanty band
> Of white-robed Scholars only — this immense
> And glorious Work of fine intelligence!
> Give all thou canst; high Heaven rejects the lore
> Of nicely-calculated less or more;
> So deemed the man who fashioned for the sense
> These lofty pillars, spread that branching roof
> Self-poised and scooped into ten thousand cells,
> Where light and shade repose, where music dwells
> Lingering — and wandering on as loth to die;
> Like thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof
> That they were born for immortality."

But these thoughts, glorious, great, and inspiring as they are, seem to carry with them no pressing sense of direct obligation to the State. They give a certain emphasis and beauty to the idea of the scholar, but it is of the scholar as represented in the old plays. He was ever the consumer, and never the producer. He absorbed, and if he ever gave out what he had absorbed it was in the form of some abstruse contribution to knowledge rather than anything to the practical affairs of every day life. You think of the way the scholar was represented upon the stage. He was looked upon as practically a worthless member of society. He was perhaps the dried up husband of a termagant and was everywhere the victim of ridicule and practical jokes. However well he could read Sophocles and Pindar, he could scarcely put on his own cravat or tie his own shoe. John Henry Newman, in his volume entitled "Idea of a University," elaborately promulgated the notion that a university is not a place for investigating and discovering new truth, but a place for absorbing and perpetuating that which is old. Even James Russell Lowell confessed, almost with a kind of pride, that he once defined a university as "a place where nothing useful is taught."

Such notions were the natural fruit of the old method of endowment. If at that time the universities owed any special obligation to any institution whatever it was to the institution of the church. If there was any obligation on the part of the scholar, that obligation was to the church, and this feeling carried with it the moral obligation which the church always inculcated. So long as the church and the state were one, the scholar supported the state in defending its old abuses rather than in advocating ameliorations and reforms. He was true to Newman's "Idea." Every student of English history knows that the scholarship of Oxford has uniformly supported old and sanctified wrongs rather than modern and beneficent reforms, and if of late there have been signs of a change it must be

remembered that even England has finally come to make education, at least in some of its grades, an affair of the state.

But how different has been the field of the scholar where the state has regarded education as one of its chief concerns.

There was a time (as I have shown some of you in the course of the past semester) when the nation which is now the most powerful and influential in Continental Europe had been burned and ground into dust and ashes by the Great Destroyer. Some of the people had survived, but their government had been broken up; their institutions had been annihilated; their traditions had been disgraced; even their hopes seemed almost gone. Then it was that a great voice rang out over Europe, the "*Reden an die deutsche Nation*," Addresses to the German Nation, declaring that there was one way, and only one way in which the power and the influence of Germany could be revived. I know not whether, since the advent of Christianity, there has been anything more sublime in the history of civilization than the resounding cry of that German professor's voice. The roll of French drums and the rattle of French infantry came in through the windows as he spoke. The French marshal in charge tried to close his lecture room, but Fichte replied, "You may shoot me as you shot Palm, but while I live my voice shall not be silent," and for fourteen lectures he rang the changes upon the doctrine of which this was the thesis: "Education, as hitherto conducted by the church, has aimed only at securing happiness in another life. This is not enough, inasmuch as men need also to be taught how to bear themselves in the present life, so as to do their duty to the state, to others and to themselves. A system of national education, properly adjusted and conducted, will work so powerfully upon the people of the nation that in a few years they will be completely transformed. Nothing but education can secure us from the miseries that

overwhelm us. On you it depends," finally exclaimed the orator, "whether you will be the end and the last of a race worthy of little respect and likely to be despised, or whether you will be the beginning and germ of a new time that will be glorious beyond all your imaginations, and from which posterity will reckon the years of their welfare."

This was the beginning of that systematic and elaborate educational policy which first made Prussia the schoolmaster of civilization, the Mecca of students from all parts of the world, and finally made Prussia as superior to France in 1870 as France had been superior to Prussia in 1806.

At a still later period a similar power was felt. When the baleful influence of Metternich threatened to undo all that had been gained by the revolutionary ideas of the Napoleonic period and sought to bring back all the horrors of the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons, who was it but the five Göttingen professors and such university poets as Kinkel and such students as Carl Schurz that cried out "No!" and organized the revolutionary movement of 1848.

The same tendency has shown itself in our own country. If there was anything to justify the terrible impeachment of Harvard by Wendell Phillips it was to be found in the traditional adhesion of that illustrious institution to the old English ideals. Such an impeachment could never have found place in any court against one of the state universities, for here students and graduates have everywhere thrown themselves into active political life. It has been only a natural result of this spirit that the university of our land which has had the greatest number of representatives in the last three Congresses has been not one of the older universities of the East, but one of the state universities of the Middle West.

This interesting result, which has come to us easily and naturally, is one of the favorable signs of the times. Are we not all exhilarated by the thought that the standards

lifted up by education are in the end the favorites of the Goddess of Success?

But this great fact brings its responsibilities and its obligations. Let us not suppose that success is a mere matter of getting into positions of responsibility and trust. Alas, no! It means nothing less than an intellectual adaptation and application of the knowledge of the times to the great questions with which the statesman and the politician have to deal.

Nothing is plainer than that the drift of civilization during the past three hundred years has changed the sources of political power. In the days of Henry and Elizabeth the sources were everywhere, in fact, if not in theory, as much in the hands of the ruler as today they are in the hands of the Czar and the Sultan. But independence of thought in religious matters could not stop short of independence of thought in matters political. The English Revolution, which overthrew the doctrine of Divine Right had a philosophical basis akin to that which was the fundamental cause of the Thirty Years' War. But the old idea died hard. It resisted death for more than one hundred years; for it was not until the yeast of the eighteenth century had brought on the ferment of the American Revolution and the French Revolution, that the reactionary struggle of the Georges came to an end, and the way was prepared for the political advent of the people and the progress of the nineteenth century.

America was founded as a protest against royal oppression; it was not founded as a protest against royalty! Nor was the idea prevalent that the affairs of the new commonwealth were to be entrusted to the directing influence of the mass of the people. Even Massachusetts was an aristocratic republic, to the political privileges and responsibilities of which only a favored few were admitted. The political state was a kind of close corporation, and it admitted only those whom it chose. To be inducted into the

rights of a freeman was a public ceremony, and so carefully was the door guarded, that all the functions of government were administered by what we should now call the most intelligent and influential of the people. To us at least it must be an impressive fact that even at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War the number of voters in the province was only about one in thirty of the population. If, at the present day, we were to group all the voters in our towns and cities together and select out one in six, and intrust to the persons so selected all local as well as political authority, we should have a state of political organization analogous to that which existed one hundred and twenty-five years ago. The thought of what we now call "universal suffrage" had hardly then entered into the mind of even the most advanced politician.

But, as a great philosopher of that age said: "Tendencies are stronger than men." The rights of man so loudly proclaimed by Helvetius and Rousseau and others in France were echoed by Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson in America. The doctrine flowed with the drift of civilization and it could not be resisted. State after state broadened the doors of ingress to political duties and obligations. One after another the barriers were burned away. If the doctrine that "all men are created equal" had any meaning, it meant that all men have equal rights. The logic was irresistible and the consequence has been a political and social transformation, and we have the conditions which confront us at the present day,

Undoubtedly the largest and most important results of this great tendency have been a more active and a more general participation in political affairs. We must not overlook or belittle this beneficent consequence. It has unquestionably resulted in the extension of political ideas to vast numbers of the people. But even the most enthusiastic American will hardly deny that this great result has been accompanied with some embarrassments. It is cer-

tainly our duty to look at the evil as well as the good. The stations and the road-bed and the rolling-stock of a great railway may be ever so well constructed and the coaches may be ever so luxurious, yet if the bridges are broken or weak, the trains cannot pass with safety. Every engineer will tell you that if the boilers in your great ship are unable to bear the strain, if the engines are inadequate, if the engineers are ignorant or careless, if there is weakness at any single spot, there can be no assurance of a successful voyage. There is no guarantee of success or safety in the mere possession of the most perfect form, or of the most powerful armament. The conditions require that all the elements of weakness shall be carefully inspected, and, as far as possible, removed.

It is not true that universal suffrage puts ignorance on a par with intelligence, but it cannot be denied that it gives political knavery a chance. It has glutted the market with immorality. In some of our states it has filled the rural district with "floaters," whose commercial value is as well known by the political managers as the price of sugar or standard oil. In very many of our large cities it has converted the process of an election into a political debauch. If the rational basis of an election is the fact that it is the most practicable method of testing the reason and judgment of the people on the question at issue; it has too often degenerated into a method of persuading people not more by reason than by promises of office and promises of money. Nobody will deny that the power of office and of money has been enormously increased in the last twenty-five years. This growth has been coincident with the extension of the suffrage. To give money for votes is conceded by everybody to be politically immoral, but to give office for votes is vastly worse, for it not only debauches the political conscience, but tends to drive ability and honesty into obscurity and to thrust incapacity and dishonesty into positions of official responsibility. It has done

more than all other causes put together to bring about a condition in our cities which led one of the best informed judges of such matters our country has ever known to declare that there is no other country in all the nations of the civilized world in which the cities are so badly governed as in our own. It has led the political manager to relegate the Golden Rule to the rubbish heap of obsolete nonsense. In the place of the maxim, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," it raises aloft in its place, like a brazen serpent, the shameless substitute, "Do up your political opponent before he has a chance to do you up."

The process of an election, whether political or not, generally has to do with three elements. In the first place there are those whose ideas on the question at issue and whose character are known to be fixed, and upon whom, in consequence, persuasion of any kind is rarely attempted. Then there are those who are not married to any party and whose ideas are subject to revision by rational argument. The third class is made up of those who go into politics, as they call it, not for what they can do, but for what they can get. The tendency ever is for the third class to increase at the expense of the other two, and it is not too much to say that the success of our political life will depend upon our ability to keep this third class under control. Our city governments have during the past quarter of a century been so bad because in this effort we have hitherto not been successful. If ever the oft-quoted and melancholy predictions of Macaulay are fulfilled, it will be because of failure at this very point.

There is everywnere at the present time a feeling of unrest, and it cannot be denied that the questions confronting American society are the most subtle and difficult we have ever had. Does any intelligent person suppose that they are mere questions of tariff, or mere questions of silver, or mere questions of revenue; important as these undoubtedly are? They are as much questions of

the fundamental rights of men as were the questions which converted the republic of the Gracchi and of Cicero into the empire of Nero, and then hastened it to its inevitable destruction. How these mighty questions are to be settled depends not upon this or that law of Congress, but upon the pervasiveness of lofty intellectual and moral ideals.

If education in its various grades and branches could convert the Prussia of 1810 into the Prussia of 1870, is there any doubt as to what education can do for the republic? Hitherto we have been possessed with a spirit that would give to this question an answer of practical listlessness and indifference. We have been content with the half-gods, though "it is not until the half-gods go, that the gods arrive." We have rested upon the shallow and sophistical doctrine that the hope and the security of the country is in the common schools. We have acted upon the silly supposition that the foundation is the edifice; for a part of the people, at least, have adopted the doctrine that is equally false and destructive,— that if the state lays the foundation, voluntary benevolence will complete the structure. No greater fallacy or absurdity ever beguiled any people.

Let it not be supposed that I decry the importance of the common schools. On the contrary, I believe they are not half cared for. They are often poorly administered; they often have inefficient teachers; they often do not do one-half what they should for the best of their pupils; and when they have done their work, they leave a large percentage of the people above ten years of age, who can neither write nor read. By all means improve the common schools in every possible way; but my chief contention is that even if they were perfect, they could not do the work that must be done, if the state and the institutions are to be guided aright.

I know that the Goddess of History is by no means omnipotent. Clio is often foolishly invoked and is often in-

voked in vain. While history sometimes repeats itself, circumstances are never twice alike. No deluge of patent medicines can supersede the supremacy of intelligent physicians. Every troublesome case must have its own diagnosis; and every successful prescription must be the result of a new and a discriminating judgment. But while this is all true, will any one say that the history, even of medicine, is of no importance? Why has medicine modified its treatment of so many diseases within the last ten years? Does any physician of sense now deal with diseases with no reference whatever to what has been accomplished in the past? Is not the very acme of skill the adjustment and the discriminating application of all past knowledge to the individual case under consideration? Is not the ability to do this the very difference between the great physician and the Kickapoo medicine man?

And so it is in affairs of state. If calomel has never been known to relieve consumption or diphtheria, why rely upon calomel, even though calomel may be good for the liver? If the common schools have never saved or even built up a state, why suppose that the common schools can do it now? Did the Adamses, and the Jeffersons, and the Hamiltons, and the Madisons, and the other architects of this republic get their knowledge, or even their inspiration from the common schools? No, no! in this country, and everywhere, it has not been the valleys, but the mountain peaks and the intervening valleys, that have determined the political landscape. It has been chiefly the doctrine preached by the great leaders of public opinion that has given shape to current events. We may go even further than this and say that in the history of this country the influence and the power of the scholars in politics have been far greater than has commonly been supposed. Let us look at the matter for a moment.

There have been three great crises in the history of this nation: the Revolution, the critical period of the forma-

tion of the constitution, and the Civil War. Let us ask what were the controlling forces of public opinion in each of them.

John Adams in one of his masterly papers, written near the close of his life, calls attention to the fact that within the short space of five years before the famous Boston tea-party, a radical and remarkable change took place in the public opinion of the colonists toward the mother country. It has recently been shown that this change was not so much from an unwouted spirit of oppression in the mother country, as from a remarkable development of ideas among the colonists. The first volume of Professor Tyler's "Literary History of the Revolution" traces clearly for the first time the growth of this new public opinion. Not only was the country flooded with printed speeches and pamphlets, but the scholarship and power of these utterances would have done credit to any country in any age.

Of the speech of James Otis against the "Writs of Assistance" John Adams long afterwards wrote, that it was presented in a style of oratory that he had "never heard equalled in this or in any other country", and John Adams had been present at the trial of Hastings and had heard the speeches of Burke and Fox and Sheridan. Then came Otis' pamphlets "The Vindication" in 1762, and "The Rights of British Colonists" in 1764. These were soon followed by the masterful pamphlet of Oxenbridge Thatcher in the same year, entitled "Sentiments of a British American", in which the situation was analyzed with a logical acumen and a power which carried conviction to thousands of thoughtful minds which up to that time had been in doubt. Only two months later came the work of Stephen Hopkins, entitled "The Rights of the Colonist Examined," in which it was set forth that colonists, at all times, and, everywhere, have had the same rights as citizens of the mother country. The pamphlet was republished in nearly every colony and had a prodigious influence. Then in

August of 1764 came the four great papers of John Adams in the Boston Gazette, which were afterwards published in his works under the misleading title of "A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law"; in which he showed that the question at issue was not so much a matter of oppression, as a part of the great struggle between collectivism, on the one hand, and individualism, on the other, that had been coming on ever since the Reformation. The attitude of the colonists was shown to be in perfect accord with the inevitable trend and drift of the best elements of civilization. Three months later came the masterful pamphlet of Daniel Dulany on "The Propriety of Imposing Taxes on the British Colonists"; the object of which was to break down, and thus to destroy the imposing analogy between the situations and therefore between the obligations of the non-voting people in Great Britain and the non-voting people in America. Then the flood of published sermons hurled forth with tremendous energy from one of the foremost pulpits in Boston by Dr. Mayhew, spread far and wide the doctrine of individualism in politics as well as in religion. His eloquent contention was that every community was to decide for itself.

Now the matter to which I wish to call your attention is the fact that all of these utterances were issued before the great struggle really began by the imposition of the Stamp Act, and that really in advance of that great step public opinion was so firmly set that it was impossible for the people to meet the issue in any more than one way. What was done after that time by Samuel Adams, and John Adams, and Patrick Henry, and Thomas Payne, and John Dickinson, and the others was scarcely more than to elaborate and emphasize and make popular and practicable the doctrines already set forth by the writings I have named.

And who were these wonderful architects of public opinion. Every one of them, with a single exception, was a university scholar of more than ordinary attainments. Otis

was not only a graduate of Harvard, but he was so thoroughly permeated and soaked with a scholarly spirit that he could not satisfy his classical desires without publishing a work on Latin prosody and leaving a work on Greek prosody in manuscript. John Adams, also a Harvard man, brought to the service of his tremendous energies a vast accumulation of classical and historical knowledge. Daniel Dulany was a graduate of Eton and Cambridge and the Temple, and he soon established such a colossal reputation for legal learning that William Pinkney, who had a familiar acquaintance with the great orators of England, said of him that even among such men as Fox, Pitt, and Sheridan, there was no superior to this barrister of the American province. Nor was the power of Dulany felt in America alone. Scarcely had three months elapsed after his first pamphlet was issued, when Pitt at the end of a long absence went to the House of Commons to advocate the repeal of the Stamp Act, and in a speech of tremendous power in favor of the immediate repeal and the final abandonment of Parliamentary taxation of the colonies, held aloft the pamphlet of Dulany and commended it to the admiration and approval of the imperial legislature; and an examination of the outline of Pitt's speech, which Professor Tyler has carefully made, reveals the fact that in all but one of the great features of his argument he followed the line of reasoning set forth by the American barrister.

Let us turn now to the critical period which followed the war.

The confederation, born of the military exigencies of the struggle, had proved a rope of sand, and had fallen asunder. A new and a stronger form of government was absolutely necessary to perpetuity. Well has it been denominated "the critical period" of our history. No one can contemplate the conflicting interests of state rights, of large states and small states, of slave owners and the advocates of freedom, of the democratic ideas and methods

that had come from the northern Puritan, and the aristocratic ideas and methods that had come from the southern cavalier, without seeing the stupendous difficulties that lay in the way of harmonizing these interests in a common agreement in the form of a federal constitution. Well may it be said that no greater triumph of statesmanship has ever been achieved than was accomplished in the settlement of these questions.

And who was it that brought together these conflicting interests and welded them into that revered instrument which we call the constitution? Whose were the minds that contributed what we may call the fundamental ideas of settlement and organization?

Of the 55 members more than half were college-bred men. No one who looks through Elliot's debates can fail to be impressed with the power and the gravity and the wisdom of the controlling minds of that convention. Valuable suggestions in regard to minor details came from different members and different quarters, but the fundamental lines, what may be called the keel of the constitution, that which determined the permanent form and character of the instrument, was the work of a very few leading minds. Careful scrutiny into the history of the convention has shown that much of the framework was really decided upon during the ten days which intervened after the first delegates arrived and before a majority had made its appearance. The fifteen famous resolutions presented by Governor Randolph, which really determined the fundamental character of the situation, were the result of repeated conferences in which the mind and ideas of James Madison were the most potent elements, and when the convention came to grapple with the great question of crucial significance — whether the government was to be essentially democratic, or essentially aristocratic in its character, the matter was finally settled by the wisdom and the words of James Wilson, whose declaration on the subject

is worthy of perpetual remembrance. Elbridge Gerry, the father of gerrymandering, had said "The people do not want virtue; they are the dupes of pretended patriots"; to which Wilson, who brought to the convention the learning of three Scotch universities, replied, "Without the confidence of the people, no government, least of all a republican government, can long subsist." And in elaboration of this great statement he made it evident to all that the popular branch of the national legislature must be elected directly by the people.

And in like form if we look through the controlling consideration which established the powers of the executive and judicial branches of the government, we shall see that they were presented and urged and secured by a few men, almost without exception college-bred, who had united a special study of the republics of the Old World with a large experience in the affairs of the individual states. It was these ideas, sometimes conflicting, and sometimes agreeing, which under the benign, and soothing, and harmonizing good sense of Washington and Franklin produced the great instrument which has given us so much prosperity. Its real character was determined by Madison, Wilson, and Hamilton, all of them college men, whose practical good sense enabled them, without pedantry or ostentation, to apply their great knowledge to the mighty problems before them.

More than that, when the Constitution had been framed, it was necessary that the states should be persuaded to adopt it, and everybody knows that the most potent influence in that process of persuasion was The Federalist, that great textbook of constitutional interpretation, written by Hamilton, Madison and Jay, college men, two from King's College, now Columbia, and one from Princeton.

And now if we pass on from the critical period of the formation to the period of interpretation, what do we find?

Fifty years have developed conflicting interests. The

institutions of the south and the institutions of the north were no longer harmonious. The great question now arose whether under the constitution the states which feel themselves aggrieved must submit to the majority, or whether they might nullify the acts of congress and secede from the Union. The question was decided, no doubt, partly by the supreme court of the United States, partly by the president, and partly by congress.

> How small, of all that human hearts endure,
> That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!

No great question can be ultimately settled until it is settled by public opinion. But how was public opinion formed on this great issue? The fundamental question which lay underneath all others, and on which all others rested, was simply whether, in case of a real or supposed grievance, the the nation had sovereign authority or whether sovereign authority inhered in the individual states. All other questions of tariff or slavery, however noisily they might be discussed, were subordinate to that, and it is safe to say that the nation could not have been preserved, if the North had not been convinced that the South had no constitutional right to secede. All other questions were simply whether the reward would be worth the enormous price that would have to be paid. "At that time," as Seward once said in Detroit, "the North, like Gulliver, was bound down by every individual hair." But when the issue came, every minor restraint was torn asunder and the great question of right welded together the mighty resources of men and money, which brought the great argument to a successful close.

Now, what was it, that settled that question of right in public opinion? I think that history will give a clear and unequivocal answer. There were two men that were as unmistakably at the head of this great movement of interpretation as was Washington at the head of the Revolutionary war, or Lincoln at the head of the war for the

Union. Every lawyer will admit that the coherent and consistent form of this doctrine was established by a long succession of judicial decisions leading up one from another and extending over a period of thirty-four years, as promulgated by Chief Justice Marshall of the Supreme Court. And these same doctrines were brought to the public conscience of the people in a way never to be rooted out, by the speeches in the senate, in the courts, and on the platform, by Daniel Webster. No temporary obscurations, or detractions can prevent these transcendent services from ultimately placing Marshall, and Webster next to Washington and Lincoln in the Walhalla of the nation. And Chief Justice Marshall brought to his mighty service the training he had received at William and Mary, and Webster brought the training he had found at Dartmouth.

And now if I have established my thesis that in the three great crises of the national history the fundamental and predominant and successful ideas have been for the most part formulated and wrought into the national consciousness by college-bred men, it is fitting to ask whether college men were in condition to have greater influence in the past than they are likely to have in the futuure. Have we come to an age and a condition when public questions are less complicated, or less difficult? Have we arrived at a period of flat mediocrity, when everybody knows as much as anybody? If we have not, the scholar must be as prominent in the future as he has been in the past, and the only difference between the importance of the one and the importance of the other must be in the nature of the questions to be considered.

It is unquestionably true that, as civilization becomes more complicated, the questions that demand solution require more intelligence. The steam engines of Watt and Stephenson were simple affairs and easy of management, but the confusing wilderness of machines that work together to propel a modern battle-ship is enough to strike the

observer dumb with a consciousness of impotency. But this great representative of modern power is not more complicated than are the elements of modern civilization and political life. Does the engineer need to be less educated than did the engineer fifty or one hundred years ago? Does the company now intrust the machinery to untrained ability, no matter what the average intelligence of the crew may be?

It has been for the purpose of meeting the public demands that so many schools for the special training of men for the public service have recently been established. Twenty-five years ago the largest of our universities had to be content with a single professor of history and a single professor of political economy, of whom the public impression was that he was simply a professor of free trade. It is the story of the steam engine over again. The demand had produced the supply, and we must have a dozen professors and instructors where formerly there was only one.

The highest work of the scholar is in the formation of public opinion. It is as true now as it was in the three great periods of which I have spoken that the special sphere of the men of most thorough training is that of molding and shaping the thoughts of the people. It may not be desirable for a young man to have office. Indeed, it is probably a great misfortune for a young man to be bitten with the desire to be elected to something. It is likely to ruin his professional prospects, and, sooner or later, leave him stranded. Let him work; let him wait, until he has made a reputation that can afford to be cast up high and dry; but in the meantime he must not be indifferent to what is going on. Young gentlemen — and I will say young ladies, as well, — you will but poorly requite the State for what it has done for you, if you fold your hands indifferently to the course of current affairs. Do not seek for office, but strive in every practicable way to in-

fluence public opinion on the various questions of the day. You will have no right to the distinction of being regarded as scholars fit for the time, unless you have opinions that have been carefully considered and matured. Some years ago, in one of his great orations, Emerson said:

"Neither years nor books have yet availed to extirpate a prejudice rooted in me that a scholar is the favorite of heaven and earth, the excellency of the country, the happiest of men."

And twenty-five years later George William Curtis said that "The philosophers and the poets are like trees of golden fruit in the landscape."

But when mighty questions are agitating the public, it will not do for the scholar to wrap his robes of sanctity about him and abstain from the conflict. Let him remember the endless infamy of the Priest and the Levite, because they passed by on the other side. Let him know that the citizen's duty is never discharged by simply thrusting a bit of paper through a slit in the top of a box. Worthy citizenship is far more than that. A man may vote as regularly as election comes, and yet fail of his political duty, just as the Pharisee, who gave tithes of all he possessed and fasted three times a week, lacked the very heart of religious obligation.

It is notorious that he who does nothing but vote is often perplexed because he is confronted with a choice between evils. He finds that the preliminary choice has been fixed, and, as George William Curtis once said, "he must choose to vote either for Jeremy Diddler, or Dick Terpin." You can only rid yourself of your entire responsibility if you do all you can to prevent such an alternative, for when you march up to the ballot box you only aid in putting in the keystone of the arch that has already been designed and all but completed. If you have had nothing to do with the preliminary plans and determinations, you can never claim to have done your full part.

The settlement of the currency, the question of revenue, the relations of the rich and the poor, the legitimate power of corporations, the adjustment of taxes, the government of cities; these are indeed mighty questions which can never be settled except by one method, and that method is by what in a large way may be called the enlightend intelligence,—that is to say, the scholarship of the country. In regard to every single point at issue the most enlightened opinion must express itself so clearly and forcefully that it will commend itself with overwhelming power. The human heart is just, and if the traitor to humanity escapes his proper doom, it will be because those who have been trained to be the leaders of thought have fallen short of their high behest. The magnitude of the scholar's duty is to be measured only by the magnitude of the questions that confront him.

It is the duty of the scholar not only to be the leader of public opinion, but also to be "an embodiment of public conscience." It is not enough simply to do; it is necessary also to do right. The more an evil spirit is educated, the greater its power, and the worse it is for the world. The fundamental virtues are as necessary for political and social duties as they are for individual life. Upright and downright truth and honesty at all times are as essential as knowledge. It is now, as it always has been, the complete amalgamation of these great elements of power that constitutes the embodiment of the public intelligence and the public conscience—the Upper House in the politics of the world.

This is no time for what Milton called "the fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and seeks her adversary, but slinks out of the race, when that immortal garland is to be run for."

It is a time when every scholar should gird up his loins for public, as well as for private duty, and with courage, with intelligence, and with unswerving virtue, do what he

can for the state and the nation which have placed him under such illimitable obligations.

If your Alma Mater could speak to you as you leave these halls, I imagine her parting words might be:

"Farewell! Your heart to mine conveys the thrill
Of restless thought, of new untried desires;
The sun itself has not more burning fires,
Or seeks the more a purpose to fulfill
Than ye, who with youth's strength and dauntless will,
Look longingly toward noon; see distant spires,
Answering to music of celestial choirs,
Your fair Hope faithful to its promise still.

O reverently go, as into vale
Sacred to rising day! With rainbow light
Its storms illume! Touch firm and sure the sod
Of earth; yet towering heights beyond assail
And win! Make darkness by your being bright,
And prove yourselves in partnership with God!"

The University and the State.

A Baccalaureate Address delivered by Charles Kendall Adams, LL. D., President of the University of Wisconsin, June 21st, 1896.

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University of Wisconsin.

The University and the State.

A BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS

BY

Charles Kendall Adams, LL. D.

President of the University.

JUNE 21, 1896.

MADISON.

The University and the State.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE GRADUATING CLASS:

Perhaps you will think I ought to apologize for speaking to you on the subject I have chosen for to-day; and yet it seems to be not out of harmony with a custom long since adopted at this University. Subjects of educational as well as of political and social import have often been chosen for occasions like this. For each of my last formal addresses to graduating classes I have selected a subject in the hope of influencing the attitude of those leaving the University, towards some one of the dominant problems at the time agitating the public mind. Two years ago the subject was, "The Limitations of Reform;" last year, "The Predominance of Character;" this year, I have deemed it appropriate to speak on a certain phase of higher education — the very subject to which, in one sense, you have devoted the most recent years of your lives — the very subject, therefore, with which you might seem to be already most familiar.

But it is probably safe to presume that you have busied yourselves, after all with only certain portions of University life: you have a certain familiarity—let us hope a fond familiarity — with the buildings, with the colleges, with the societies, with the departments, with the libraries and laboratories, with the professors. But how did these all come to be what they are? Why does the University exist at all? How is the University supported? To whom, for all these things are we indebted? These, so far as I know, are questions which in the whole course of your collegiate career, you have never heard asked and answered. It seems to me not inappropriate,— nay, it seems eminently desirable, that you should have some adequate understanding of these subjects; for they are questions which will at once confront you as graduates and as citizens of the state. Your knowledge of them will influence your future attitude towards the University.

Why does the University exist at all? This question carries us back to the very beginnings of our national history.

In the summer of 1787, while the convention which framed the Federal Constitution was in session in Philadelphia, the last Continental Congress was in session in New York. One of the questions before that Congress was the organization of the vast and almost unknown region called the Northwest Territory. That region as, no doubt, you all know, embraced the lands which now form the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Little did the members of Congress imagine that in one hundred years the inhabitants of this territory would be four times as numerous as the population of all the thirteen states at the time of the Revolution, and that the metropolis of this region would far exceed in population and wealth all the American cities of the Revolutionary period put together. In short, this domain was as unknown as central Africa is at the present time.

But notwithstanding this ignorance, a curious combination of circumstances forced upon Congress a remarkable series of provisions. In order that the Ohio Land Company, which had its headquarters in Massachusetts, might be induced to make large purchases and enter upon the work of settlement in this new region. Congress enacted an ordinance containing several very important fundamental provisions. Four of them are of monumental consequence. For example, they secured a perpetual benefit to the future inhabitants of this vast region by providing for all the best privileges and characteristics of the English Common Law, including *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, and proportional representation. They provided untold advantages for the growth of commerce and the development of material interests, by making the rivers and portages free to all the people of the country. They declared that there should never be slavery or involuntary servitude in this territory, other than as punishment for crime. But what now concerns us particularly is the fact that they enacted a remarkable provision regarding education. They said: "Relig-

ion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

The mandatory language of this educational clause is worthy of a moment's consideration, because it has sometimes been said or inferred that the provisions related to common schools only. Even one of the school histories of the United States, now much used, commits the error of limiting the obligation to the establishment and support of schools of the lowest grade. The words of the Ordinance, as you observe, are: "Schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." It is perhaps needless to say that one of the most elementary rules of interpretation is that the language of a statute shall be regarded as having the meaning that was current for such terms at the time of the enactment. The Fathers must have meant precisely those grades of schools that were then known to popular favor, and the clause can be subject to only those limitations which would be naturally demanded by public opinion at that time. What was such public opinion? The answer is in fact that the colleges as well as the secondary schools were universally deemed a necessary part of "the means of education." They said in terms that the education that was to be provided for, was that which was "necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind;" and they indulged in no such supreme folly as to suppose that the common schools alone could secure these great ends. They knew that there is no talismanic protection of political institutions in the "Three R's," and hence throughout the Colonial period all grades of education were supported by the public at large. The clause in the Northwestern Ordinance was substantially copied from the Constitution of Massachusetts, adopted in 1780, in which, Chapter V. is entitled "The University at Cambridge, and Encouragement of Literature, etc." This new mandate must be interpreted by the evident meaning of the old one from which it was copied.

Moreover when we examine what the custom was, we find that Harvard College had received more than one

hundred separate grants from the state, and that the secondary schools were endowed by specific Land Grants. The colleges elsewhere, which had been established during the Colonial and Provincial periods, were also generally supported in a similar way. Within two weeks after the enactment of the great ordinance, Congress proceeded to place its own interpretation upon it, by making an appropriation for higher education in the territory of Ohio. It is well known that Washington, not only in his Farwell Address, but in his Last Will and Testament, expressed his regret at the habit of American youth in going to Europe for the completion of their education, and there absorbing political views that he deemed inconsistent with the best good of this country. That such dependence upon foreign universities might be unnecessary, he designed the establishment of a National University. It was for this reason that in his Will he provided for the devotion of a large tract of land to the beginning of a National University, which he hoped would be adequately supported by Congress. Unfortunately this noble purpose was frustrated by subsequent mismanagement of the estate, and by the devotion of Congress to other affairs. It was a similar spirit that led Jefferson, the great Patriarch and Protagionist of political *lassez-faire*, to throw aside his doctrine in the matter of education. He had observed that never in the history of the world had higher education been successful, excepting when it has been established, and, at least during its childhood and youth, been encouraged and supported, by all the forces in the state. He saw that colleges and universities had been everywhere established and mainly supported by the Church during that long period when the Church and the State were identical, and that when Church and State came to be separated, higher education, unless already adequately endowed by the Church, had dwindled, wherever it had not been taken up by the State. It was for these reasons that Jefferson not only founded the University of Virginia, and provided for its support at public expense, but regarded the service he had thus rendered as one of such importance and significance, that he directed

the fact of his being the founder of the University of Virginia to be placed on his tombstone, where it may be seen at Monticello to-day.

These doctrines and views found expression in the fundamental laws of all the states and territories when the several states and territories came to be organized. Not only was the sixteenth section of every township set apart for the use of public schools, but every state, from that time to this, has received from the National Government at least two townships of land for the support and maintenance of a University. Such allotments for a University having already been given to Ohio, to Indiana, and to Illinois, two townships were given in 1826 to the Territory of Michigan (which then included Wisconsin) and the same amount was given to Wisconsin, when the territory was organized, in 1836. It is noteworthy also that in like manner, every state, since admitted into the union, without a single exception, has received from Congress either two or four townships "for the support and maintenance" of a university.

But when the Territories, and finally the States, were duly organized, the question at once arose: What were the several states to do with these endowments? Should they locate the lands carefully, and hold them until a high price could be realized, and meanwhile establish and support a university, as best they could, through current taxation; or, should they sell the lands at once, at whatever price then prevailed, and use the funds, however small, for the immediate benefit of the people of the state, and trust to the future to take care of the university by means of taxation?

You will at once see that arguments could easily be advanced in favor of both methods. In the first place, it was unquestionably desirable that each state should establish a university at the earliest practicable moment. This could not be done without the expenditure of a considerable sum of money. The people in every frontier community are poor, and every burden of taxation is severely felt. A little taxation at first, always weighs more heavily than a large taxation at a later period. If the lands should be sold at once, the community could avail itself of the proceeds

at the time of its greatest needs, and after the state had farther developed itself, it would be easy for the people to raise, by taxation, whatever might be called for. This was a rational argument and it prevailed in a majority of the states.

But while this view was often strongly and successfully urged in many of the states, in others, an opposite course was pursued. It was sometimes held that, even at the expense of the present inconvenience, it would be far better, in the end, to locate the lands carefully, to hold these lands, until they attained considerable value, and then to realize the permanent advantage of the large endowment that would ultimately come from a later sale. Only a few of the states in our whole history have had the self-denial to pursue this course, and still fewer have had the courage to persevere in this policy.

The only example of the latter method in the old Northwest Territory was that pursued in the territory of Michigan. The territorial legislature there provided for locating the lands very judiciously in small tracts, and then held them, or, at least, the most of them, until good prices were obtained. In pursuance of this policy the Land Commissioners of Michigan located the University lands so fortunately that the Superintendent of Education in his first report in 1837, eleven years after the date of the grant, expressed the confident expectation that the endowment would reach one million dollars. Up to that time the sales had averaged a price of $22.85 per acre. But in consequence of the financial storm and stress of 1837 and of consequent legislation, this hope was not fully realized. The University received a sum, however, which, from 1850 down to the present time, has yielded an income to the University averaging more than $38,000 a year. Such was the result of a policy that kept in view the future welfare of the University as well as the present.

In the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, for reasons that were perfectly definite, the policy of immediate sale was pursued. Their lands were disposed of at an early day, the most of them being sold at the government rate of

$1.25 per acre, or even less. The consequence was that the early settlers of those states reaped very material advantages from the national appropriation, while the University endowments were correspondingly impoverished.

When, in 1836, Wisconsin, the last of the five great subdivisions of this region to be organized as a separate territory, had the opportunity of choosing which method she would imitate, the legislature adopted the Ohio-Indiana-Illinois method, instead of the Michigan method. It took this course deliberately, for the Board of Visitors (then the governing body ot the young institution) called the attention of the legislature to the fact that the Michigan method promised to yield an endowment of about $20.00 an acre, while the other method was yielding not more than one-tenth of that sum. Nor was their decision altogether a strange one; for the early years of the University of Michigan had not been so prosperous as to invite imitation. That now famous institution having begun its career with five freshmen and one sophomore, after thirteen years, three years after the University of Wisconsin was founded, had only fifty students. The Michigan fund also had its legislative perils. Twice the legislature voted to reduce the price of its lands; and twice the fund was saved by executive veto. But, notwithstanding these dangers, the result, after twenty years of patient and wise administration, produced a fund which gave the University of Michigan thirty years of absolute independence.

But there is another element in the case. The premature sale of the first two townships in Wisconsin amounted to so little that an appeal was made to Congress to have the grant duplicated. This appeal was successful, and another two townships were granted in 1854. The old history, however, was repeated; and, to make a very long story very short, the total result was that the entire sum realized from the sale of these lands amounted only to a principal which has yielded an income averaging about $15,000 a year. Thus the result was that the Wisconsin method yielded from the sale of four townships, an ultimate income of only $15,000 a year, while the other method

with only half as much land, gave to Michigan $38,000 a year. The methcd pursued by Michigan yielded about five times as great a return for the University as did the method pursued by Wisconsin. The Michigan method, administered with no exceptional skill, would have yielded us $74,000 a year instead of the $15,000 a year we have received. In other words, the method pursued resulted in a loss to the University of no less than the sum of $59,000 a year.

A not less striking illustration of the two methods of dealing with the Congressional Grants occurred after the famous Morrill Act of 1862. By this act every state received for higher education 30,000 acres of land for each of its members of Congress. Wisconsin had eight members, and consequently, received 240,000 acres. The state could locate its lands upon any unsold territory within its domains; it was among the very first in the field; and was free to choose the very best lands in the state that had not already been occupied. What could be done was shown by those states which pursued what may be called the waiting method. Wisconsin had its choice, and located its congressional lands in 1863 and 1864. New York pursued the other method, and having no lands subject to entry within its own domain, chose to come, for the most part, to Wisconsin. The New York lands were located about five years later than were those of Wisconsin. But the lands were located for the interests of the University, and were held for the price that could be realized at the end of from ten to fifteen years. The Wisconsin legislature, in order to increase the value of farm lands, required its commissioners to select for the University, the cheaper lands that were immediately adapted to agricultural uses. The New York Commissioners, restricted by no such desire to increase the price of farming lands, naturally chose the more valuable pine lands. The result was that while Cornell University obtained out of Wisconsin lands an endowment of more than $5,000,000, yielding an annual income to the University of more than $300,000, the University of Wisconsin lands, rapidly located and speedily sold, at what

may be called phenominally low prices, brought per acre only about one-tenth as much, or an income of less than $17,000 a year.

Now, I believe it is perfectly fair to suppose that the policy which yielded to Cornell ten dollars an acre for its Wisconsin lands would easily have yielded as large a price to the University of Wisconsin. Surely, if Wisconsin had acted on this policy, this University could have received $2,400,000 for its 240,000 acres as easily as Cornell, administering its interests a thousand miles distant, could receive $5,000,000 for the 500,000 acres, located in the same state. If such a policy had been pursued, then, the University, at the rate of six per cent. on the principal of $2,400,000, would have received from this course a perpetual income of $144,000 a year, instead of the $16,000 it now receives. Thus, by the adoption of this policy, instead of the other, the State took from the University, forever, a perpetual income of $128,000 a year; and it is important to note that every dollar of this amount went into the pockets of the people of the State.

Such was the policy pursued in dealing with the four township grants, and then with the Morrill grants. My object in presenting this policy, thus in detail, is to place before your minds sharply the consequences of this policy to the University funds. What the motives were, and what the effects were upon the State, I shall endeavor to show a little later. I beg you, simply for the present, to bear in mind that, whatever the State gained by the policy adopted, the University lost, and lost permanently, from its Township Fund, not less than $59,000 a year, and from its Morrill fund not less than $128,000 a year, an aggregate loss for all time to the University income of not less than $187,000 a year.

Your attention should further be called to the fact that the same liberal spirit of the National government, which gave the three grants I have already considered, has been shown within more recent years. The Supplementary Morrill Act of 1890 gives to each State, ultimately, $25,000 a year; and the Hatch Act of 1887, providing for Agricul-

tural Experiment Stations, yields also $15,000 a year. Both of these grants are not in lands, but in money. This State, then, has received for higher education the proceeds of five separate Congressional Acts: the two Township Act of 1836; the Supplementary two Township Act of 1854; the Morrill Act of 1862; the Hatch Act of 1887; and the Supplementary Morrill Act of 1890. The income received by this University from all these Federal grants amounted, in round numbers, during the last year to $69,000. It is interesting to note that, if the first three of the grants had been managed in the interests of the University, instead of the immediate interests of the State at large, the income from these sources would have been about $256,000 a year, instead of $69,000 a year, as it now is.

But there is another phase of the same general subject, to which I must call attention. I refer to the fact that the Congressional grants were given, according to explicit terms, "For the support and maintenance of a University," —not for the purchase of a site, nor the erection of buildings. In fact, it was expressly forbidden that Congressional aid should be used "for any such purpose whatever." This prohibitory feature, in many of the States, was either disregarded outright or circumvented. It was supposed by members of Congress that the States themselves would found the Universities and erect the buildings, and that the Congressional fund would be devoted exclusively to the maintenance and support of institutions so established. How completely this expectation was baffled in Wisconsin, is shown by the single fact that, although the first Congressional grant, as already shown, was made in 1836, and the lands were located and sold soon after that year, it was not until 1867, thirty-one years later, that the first dollar from taxation was appropriated to the University by the legislature of the State. During all those thirty-one years every cent of money that was expended for the purchase of grounds and the erection of buildings came directly, in virtual defiance of Federal prohibition, from the principal of the Congressional grant itself. This result was accom-

plished in a way that was at least creditable to the ingenuity of the legislature. This was how it was done: From the endowment fund, money was loaned to the University, by order of the legislature, with the provision that it should be restored, not by any general system of taxation, but out of the interest received from the remaining portion of the fund. Thus, for sixteen years after the University was opened, the fund which, by the specific terms of the Congressional grant, was to be devoted "exclusively" to the "maintenance and support" of the University, was devoted not "exclusively" to that laudable purpose, but to the purchase of grounds and the erection of buildings. The first fifty acres of the Upper Campus, and the three older buildings on the Hill, were all paid for in this way. So completely were even the meager funds resulting from the plan I have described exhausted, that the income steadily dwindled, until in the year 1866, it amounted to only the pitiable sum of $5,646.40. The fact in this connection to be impressed upon your minds, and the minds of everyone interested in higher education in Wisconsin, is that before a single dollar was furnished the University by State taxation, the grants of Congress had been nibbled away, until the income of the University had been reduced below $6,000 a year.

The results of this policy made themselves seen in a variety of ways. Three times the University had to be completely re-organized (in 1858, in 1860, and in 1866), in order to adapt it to its ever-diminishing income. In 1866, all the Professors were dismissed, because there were no means of paying their salaries. In 1855, the situation was so desperate, and there was so little remembrance of the obligations imposed by the Congressional grant, that a bill was introdnced into the Assembly, even by one of the Regents of the University, to repeal the charter and distribute the funds to the denominational colleges of the State.

Now, it is time to inquire as to the motives that had led to those startling results.

The period of which I am speaking was the period of the most rapid immigration from Europe and the Eastern

States. The East was pouring its inhabitants over the Alleghanies in a thousand streams into the West. A few figures tell the whole story: From 1840 to 1860, the population of Wisconsin increased from 30,945 to 775,889. This great Western movement was stimulated by every form of inducement, on the part of the several State governments. The natural and laudable desire of every State to obtain its full share of these enterprising new-comers, was sharpened by the fact that every new thousand inhabitants added to the value of property already possessed, by diminishing the amount that was in the market.

In this great fact is to be found the key that unlocks our mystery. A deliberate policy was adopted of throwing out the University lands, and the Common School lands, as inducements to immigration. I have not time to present in detail the overwhelming evidence that proves this important fact. I can only pause to say that every one of the five historians of education in Wisconsin recognizes this fact, and two of them dwell upon it at considerable length. The people certainly did not mean to defraud the University; but they certainly did determine, that, in throwing University lands as bait to immigrants, they would throw the University itself for support upon those future generations which would reap the advantages the University would afford. And they had an unquestioning confidence that this great draft on the future would be honored by their successors.

The result was what might have been expected,—what, perhaps, was expected. From 1840 to 1860, Wisconsin attracted more immigrants than Michigan; so that, in 1860, as the census shows, she had even a larger population than Michigan. The great fact is shown by the figures that immigration into Wisconsin from 1840 to 1860 was more rapid than into any of the adjacent States,—more rapid, indeed, than into any other State of the Union. Meanwhile, it is curious to note that, although the University lands and the School lands were sold in Wisconsin for next to nothing, while the same class of lands in Michigan brought from $10 to $28 an acre, the average market price of land in

Wisconsin was higher than was the average price in Michigan. The School lands shared the same fate as the University lands. How complete was the devotion of this great fund, to the purpose indicated, is shown by one significant fact: Though Congress had given to Wisconsin, not only the Sixteenth Section in every township, but had supplemented the gift with 500,000 acres at a later period, yet the ultimate proceeds to the School Fund of these munificent grants were so small that as late as 1890, of the nearly four millions raised for the Common Schools, only a little more than four hundred thousand came from the National Land Grant. Over seven-eighths of the whole sum had to be raised by taxation.

Now, such was the price which the State deliberately determined to pay, and did pay, for the increase of its population, for the increase of its prosperity, and for the increase of its wealth. It said to itself: We will fill up the State with people. We will do everything we can to increase the wealth, as well as the population, of the State. We will accomplish these results by using the School lands and the University lands as inducements, and then, having brought the people into the State, we will throw upon the future the great responsibility of making good the funds which, for this great, permanent, as well as temporary advantage, we feel compelled to use. Such was their determination. They paid the price, and they attained the result they sought. Wisconsin grew faster than any other State in the Union.

And now, having explained, with what I fear has been a somewhat tedious elaboration, how the School and University lands were made to serve the growth of the State, it is fitting, while keeping in mind the amount of this sacrifice, to ask whether the obligation created by this method has been properly acknowledged and discharged. We have seen, by a conservative estimate, that the loss to the University by the method pursued has been not less than $189,000 a year.

In 1866, as we saw a few moments ago, the affairs of the University in consequence of the methods pursued, had

sunk very low; in fact, had sunk so low, and its income had dwindled so nearly to nothing, that one of two cources had to be adopted; either the institution had to be abandoned to complete imbecility, or a tax had to be levied for its regular support. The times were opportune; the exacting demands of the war were over, and the respect for justice in the state, was not insensible of the debt to the University that had been incurred. Remember that up to that time, not a single dollar had been given to the University by taxation, and that the first fifty acres of the campus had been bought, and the three buildings on the hill had been erected, out of moneys taken from the principal of the Federal Land Grant fund.

But now there was passed a succession of acts, designed specifically to restore to the University fund, money that had been taken from it and used for other purposes. In 1867, in 1872, and again in 1876 such Acts of Restitution were passed. The acts of 1867 and 1872 provided for the restoration to the principal of the University fund of the sums that had actually been used up on buildings; and also made provision for certain small amounts that might be used for a limited time by the University for its current expenses. The Preamble to the Act of 1872 so frankly cites the reasons for the appropriation that it will bear quotation, it is as follows:

"WHEREAS, It has heretofore been the settled policy of the State of "Wisconsin to offer for sale and dispose of its lands granted by Con- "gress to the state for educational purposes, at such a low price per "acre as would induce immigration and location thereon by actual "settlers; and

"WHEREAS, Such policy, although resulting in a general benefit to "the whole State, has prevented such an increase of the productive "funds for which such grants were made, as could have been realized "if the same policy had been pursued which is usually practiced by in- "dividuals or corporations holding large tracts of land; and

"WHEREAS, The University Fund has suffered serious loss and im- "pairment by such sales of its lands, so that its income is not at "present sufficient to supply its wants, and cannot be made so by any "present change of policy, inasmuch as the most valuable lands have "already been sold; therefore," etc.

By this remarkable preamble there are five official legislative declarations: First, that the University lands were sold at a low price, for the specific purpose of inducing immigration; second, that this policy resulted in a general benefit to the whole state; third, that this method resulted in "a serious loss and impairment of the University funds;" fourth, that this loss could not be made good by any simple change of policy; and fifth, that it could only be made good by taxation.

The act then proceeded to make an annual appropriation.

Four years later, *i. e.*, in 1876, the Regents made it plain to the legislature that the appropriation of 1872 was altogether inadequate, and the result was that the former acts were superseded and the famous act of that year was passed upon which for general purposes the University has ever since chiefly relied. The statute of 1876, the first tenth of a mill tax levied, contains an extraordinary statement in the body of the act, to which attention should be particularly called. I mean the statement that the amount thus provided for: "Is to be regarded as a full compensation for all deficiencies in the income of the University arising from its, (*i. e.*, the legislature's) disposition of lands donated to the State by Congress in trust for the University."

Here there was an attempt at something like an "Act of Settlement;" and it may not be out of place to look for a moment at the conditions and circumstances under which the settlement was attempted.

Settlement with what? With some third party whom it had defrauded and with whom it could make terms? The University is not a party separate from the State. It is a part of the State — as much a part of the State as the Capitol itself — as much as the brain and the hand are parts of the body. Can the heart say to the hand or the brain, I will supply you with so much blood, provided you promise never to ask for more? The University cannot in any strict sense be called even the child of the State. Its relations to the State are far more intimate and organic than

those of a child to a parent; for a child has an individuality and rights apart from the will of the parent, while the University has no individuality and no rights apart from the will of the State. There can be no denying these facts, and no escape from the conclusions to which they lead. It is impossible for the State to make any bargain with the University that can have any binding force whatever.

There is another course of reasoning that leads to the same conclusion. The State had accepted a trust from the General Government, with an agreement that the trust should be administered exclusively in the interests of a certain cause. That agreement was violated — temporarily it may be — but still violated. Can the violators of a trust be absolved by simply giving up a part of what they have taken, and then voting that they have absolution? The claim needs only to be stated in order to have its fallacy revealed.

But the legislators of 1876 seem to have forgotten that the University is a part of the State, and therefore that the State can make no bargain with it. They seem to have regarded the University as a sort of third person, with whom the State could make terms of settlement. Let us for a moment regard this relation as though it were possible. Let us even go so far as to admit for a moment, that a bargain could be made and actually was made. Let us for the moment admit all that could be claimed, and then see what conclusions we shall reach.

Here then, according to that theory, was a child of the state for whose support generous provision had been made, let us say, by its grandfather — partly before its birth, partly in its infancy, and partly in its childhood. This gift had been made on specific terms. It had been put into the hands of the father, in trust, and could lawfully be used for no other purpose whatever. But notwithstanding these limitations and prohibitions, the parent had found ways of using this trust fund for its own benefit and profit. Meantime the child was reduced to the point of actual starvation. The parent acknowledged the misuse of the trust funds. The child, really in duress, timidly asked for an ac-

counting and a settlement. The parent consented, the negotiations were carried on and an agreement was reached. The child joyfully received a grant which was so much larger than any it had before known; that it accepted the amount enthusiastically, as a means of relief.

Now such, according to the theory of the legislators, was the real nature of the transaction.

This was in 1876. The University then had 316 students. Its permanent income, even after the restorations of 1867 and 1872, was only about $30,000. In this condition the State came to it and said: I have used up your funds for my own purposes. I cannot deny that you have a right to complain. But I have not intended to wrong you. You now get $30,000 a year. I make this proposition: I will give you the proceeds of a tenth of a mill tax, which will yield at once about $40,000 a year, for your support; but, with the proviso, that this shall be regarded forever as a full equivalent for all deficiencies in your income, that have arisen from my use of the funds.

What else could the child do but accept the settlement and the terms? Is it any wonder that, brought up in poverty, as it had been, the new grant of $40,000 a year seemed a promise of affluence?

But, was it a proper bargain for a prosperous and wealthy parent to make, with a puny and almost starving child, especially when the child already gave promise, if it could be nourished into health and vigor, of bringing the greatest possible credit and advantage to the family name? Ought such a bargain to be regarded as permanent and binding, even if we could admit that it was a bargain, at all.

But, let us be careful not to carry our reasoning too far. It would here be easy to be unjust to the State and to the legislators who framed this so-called contract. It would be a wrong to suppose that a conscious effort was made to take advantage of the child. The legislature, acting upon its false theory, undoubtedly supposed that the bargain was a fair one,— perhaps, even a generous one,— for in 1876 it was not known, and could not be known, what the

other policy would have yielded. In illustration, it may be said that, even later than 1876 a majority of the Trustees of Cornell University, tired of waiting for an advance in the value of its Wisconsin lands, gave an option for the sale of them all, at the price of one million dollars. Fortunately, the bargain was not concluded. But, in 1881, the price arose, and sales were made, almost immediately, which brought to the University more than three millions.

The controlling spirits of the Wisconsin Legislature undoubtedly had two great objects in view. We may fairly infer that, in the first place, they desired to shrive the conscience of the State from the imputation under which it rested; and, secondly, that they desired to provide, for all time to come, an adequate support for the University.

But, as a final settlement, even if we admit their theory as possible, was the bargain a just one? And, if not, were all the avenues of equity closed, when the contract was accepted? Let us see. As we have already shown, the State alienated, for its own purposes, the trust funds of the University, which, devoted to the University, and under management of ordinary skill, would have yielded, at current rates, $189,000 a year more than has been actually received. The Act of Restitution of 1876 yielded, at first, about $42,000 a year. Since then, it has slowly increased, last year having yielded exactly $60,000. Even taking the most generous figure, and calling the average income from this source $60,000 a year, we see that the Act fell short of satisfying the just obligation, by no less than $129,000 a year. To have satisfied the claim completely, even on the theory of 1876, would have taken, not simply a tenth, but about two-fifths of a mill tax, or four times the amount actually provided.

But, you may say, that the State has subsequently made important grants to the University. This is true. And now let us enumerate them, and, if possible, ascertain how far they can properly be accredited to make up the deficit.

In 1870, $50,000 were appropriated for Ladies' Hall; in 1875, $75,000 for Science Hall; in 1879, $30,000 for

Library Hall; in 1885, $150,000 for restoring Science Hall; in the same year, $40,000 for the Chemical Laboratory and the Heating Plant; in 1887, $135,000 for the completion of Science Hall, and $40,000 for furnishing it; in all, the munificent sum of $520,000 for buildings alone. Furthermore, in 1891, a tenth of a mill tax was levied for six years for the erection of the Dairy Building, the Law Building, the Armory, and such other structures as might be needed. The necessary enlargement of the Heating Plant and the much-needed improvement of other buildings, especially Ladies' Hall, it is estimated will just about consume this appropriation. The Act of 1891 will probably yield, in the aggregate, nearly or quite $380,000, which, added to the $520,000 named above, make a total sum of $900,000 appropriated by the State for University buildings since 1870.

But, even this is not all. In 1883, the tenth of a mill tax was increased to an eighth, the increment being dedicated, partly to the support of the Observatory — the generous and noble gift of Governor Washburn,— partly to found and support a School of Pharmacy, and partly to the further support of the College of Agriculture. It is to be added that, in 1887, the State appropriated $12,000 a year for Agricultural Institutes; $3,000 a year for the salary of the Director of the Washburn Observatory; and, in 1887, one per cent. of the Railroad License tax for the support of the new College of Engineering.

Now this is nothing less than a glorious array of appropriations during the last twenty years, that should be frankly and gratefully acknowledged. It may even proudly be said, that, during this period no state in the union has shown a more generous and large-minded spirit in providing for the material equipment of its University. The fact — for I believe it to be a fact — of our having more commodious and more thoroughly constructed and more permanent buildings, than any other state university, is due, partly to this wise liberality of the legislature, and partly to the wise policy of the Board of Regents.

But while this admission must be fairly, and generously,

and gratefully made, there is one peculiarity in all this legislation that should be carefully observed and remembered. Every one of the appropriations noted, and I think I have noted them all, has been for a clearly defined purpose. We note appropriations for the College of Agriculture, for the Washburn Observatory, for the College of Engineering, for the College of Law, for the Dairy School, for Science Hall, for the Chemical Laboratory, for the Mechanical Shops, and for the Armory. But where, where, I repeat, in the whole range of this provident generosity, has there been a single appropriation by the State, for the largest of all the Colleges, that of Letters and Science, or for the warming, the lighting, and the care of these buildings; where, for the general administration of the University; where, for the replenishing of the meagre libraries; where, for additions to the museums; where, for modern equipment of the laboratories; where for all the multitudinous expenses of the general administration; where even for the payment of the salaries of instructors, except in the colleges specifically mentioned? For all these momentous interests no legislative appropriation whatever was made during all this period. It is the simple truth to say that, except the $40,000 devoted to the equipment of the new Science Hall, not a single dollar was appropriated for these most important purposes during the seventeen years from 1876 to 1893. The only source from which all these expenses could be paid was the tenth of a mill tax of 1876, which, as I have shown, was only a partial restitution of the Federal Fund. It follows that during all these years, the general care of our buildings and grounds, the support of our libraries and the payment of all the salaries, except of course those of the special colleges I have named, have been defrayed, not from moneys provided by the State, but from what was left of the moneys provided by the Federal Government. It is no misuse of language, but the plain statement of a simple fact, to say that during the twenty-seven years from 1866 to 1893, while the State provided with a noble liberality for the buildings of the University; it contributed not a single dollar for its general

maintenance and support. Funds for these purposes came entirely out of what should be called the partial Act of Restitution of 1876.

It was in this condition that the University confronted the legislature of 1893. When the tenth of a mill act of 1876 was passed, there were in the University, as I have already said, 316 students. It was not unnaturally supposed that the amount of income from this act would very nearly keep pace with the increase in the number of students. But this expectation has been greatly disappointed. While the growth of the income during this period had been less than fifty per cent., the number of students had advanced about four hundred per cent. The addition to the number of students had been nearly ten times as rapid as the increase of the income. And, as if to shut the door of reliance on any other means than the legislature, the act of 1876 prohibited charges for tuition to students of Wisconsin, "except in the College of Law and for special studies." In view of these facts, facts of such overwhelming importance, it was easy in 1893 to show a Committee of the Legislature, that, while the University was apparently blessed with a large measure of property, it could not be kept in even a fair state of efficiency, without very considerable additional support. Out of the funds then in hand, additional teachers for the large numbers of additional students, could not be employed, nor could the new buildings, provided by the act of 1891, be either equipped, warmed, lighted, or administered. The response of the Legislature to this state of affairs was characteristically prompt and generous. Besides buying Camp Randall for the University, it made an appropriation of $60,000 a year for two years.

The financial embarrassments of 1893 affected the University in many ways, but chiefly in the fact that by reducing the assessed valuation of the State from $654,000,000 to $600,000,000, it greatly diminished the sum received by the University from the acts of 1876 and 1891. The proceeds from the Railroad License Tax seemed likely to be reduced by some $5,000 a year. These several reductions

affected every department of the University, except the College of Law, and, without an extra appropriation would have made it necessary very considerably to reduce our teaching force, at the very time when the number of students was increasing at the rate of more than a hundred a year.

Such was the condition that confronted the University and the legislature in 1895. Times were hard, and there was every reason for extreme economy. But the legislative committee, with a carefulness, a fidelity, and a conscientiousness, which I have never known excelled, looked into the affairs of the University from every point of view. The books of the Treasurer were scrutinized; and the several colleges and departments of the University were visited and investigated. For the first time in the history of the institution, the legislature may be said to have gone through the University. The result was the inevitable conclusion, that the University could not possibly maintain its efficiency, under an appropriation of less than the proceeds of a one-fifth of a mill tax for two years. This would equal the appropriation in 1893, now about to expire, would make some provision for the maintenance of University Extension, would reimburse the University for the loss incurred from the reduction of valuation, and would provide for making a very slight addition to the teaching force called for by the additional number of students.

Such is the condition, and such are the prospects, of the University at the present time. The one-fifth of a mill tax, a tax of two cents on every one hundred dollars of taxable property, will expire at the end of next year. The State, through the members of its next Legislature, must determine upon what course it will pursue. It is their University. By the terms of the Federal Grants, even if those Grants had all been carefully administered in the interests of the University, no portion of them could have been lawfully used for the erection of buildings. They were given specifically for the "support and maintenance" of a University that had already been founded and equipped with necessary accommodations. To the Grants thus

made, as shown by the figures already given, the State is still the moral debtor to the amount of $129,000 a year. Until a permanent grant of this amount is made, the State will still be the debtor in equity to the Federal University Fund; and, until such provision is made, the purposes of the early legislators of the State, in using the University lands as they did, will not have been fulfilled.

In presenting this cause, with which I fear I have already wearied your patience, I have had no time to discuss that phase of the question which grows out of the obligation of the State, not merely to pay its debt to the Federal Fund, but even, in addition, to support the University with a generous hand. To pay one's debt, when one is able, affords no very great reason for praise, even though to refuse to pay it is ignominy.

Nor have I entered upon the still larger question as to the way in which the University, on its part, has fulfilled the expectations of those who founded it. It would have been appropriate to show the extraordinary advances that have recently everywhere been made by the State Universities, and to show how surely, according to the unbiased opinions of foreign critics, the fortunes of higher education, in all the newer States, are drifting into their hands. On such an occasion as this, it would have been especially gratifying to point out the way, in which, in an institution like the University of Wisconsin the rich and the poor stand side by side in the most perfect of all democracies, and are rated, not by their wealth or their fashion, but by their mental and moral endowments and accomplishments. It would also be a pleasure to point out with what vigor and efficiency the several voluntary religious associations carry on the work of keeping alive and fostering the moral and religious life of the students. It would be peculiarly fitting on this day to call new attention to the fact, that the first and the second Students' Christian Associations ever founded in the country were voluntarily founded by students in State Universities; that the first and the second in point of size and efficiency have been in State Universities; and that under the freedom and spon-

taneity of life in the State Universities, the religious character of the students has the same encouragement that religious character has in any community where there has been a complete separation of the functions of the State from the functions of the Church. I should have been glad to consider, at some length, all of these phases of the State University; but time would not permit, and perhaps they would have carried me too far from the central thought of my theme.

Is the respect in this State for higher education diminished? It is impossible to believe it. Is the State, which has so bountifully provided for the housing of its University, now to deny the means of performing its legitimate duties? To suppose such a denial would be to imply that the age of degeneracy, even here in Wisconsin, has already set in. It would be to assume that the traditions and the aspirations, and the educational purposes and determinations of the fathers, have been repudiated.

But what will be done depends chiefly upon the sons and daughters of the University, and upon those other citizens of the State who know how to prize such advantages at their true value. Let the purposes and the expectations of the fathers never be forgotten. No people ever had greater reason to be proud of its ancestry. It is no mere flight of patriotic fancy to say that no State in the Union was ever settled by higher-minded men and women than those who took possession of the plains and forests of this territory, and made this State what it now is. As it has been said that God winnowed the grain of the Old World for the seed of the New, so, with similar propriety, it might be said that He winnowed the Old World and the New for the seed of Wisconsin. From Vermont came a long line, reaching all the way down through the alphabet, from the Butlers, the Burrowses and the Camps, to the Vilases; from Massachusetts came also a mighty train, from the Bryants to the Uphams and beyond; from Connecticut came the long list of proud names, from the Carpenters to the Spooners; from New York came a great multitude, reaching all the way from the Abbots and the Cassodays,

down past the Hoards, to the Van Slykes; from Ohio followed a westernized contingent, from the Allens and the Fairchilds, to the Strongs and Youngs; in fact, from every Eastern State, came sturdy men and noble women, who, whether possessed of early advantages or not, prized them for their children and their descendants, and, prizing, determined to establish and to maintain them. They never had a doubt that their children would take up their work, and carry it forward in the same generous and enlightened spirit.

But even these were not all. What troops of immigrants came from the old world: From England, from Scotland, from Ireland, from Wales, especially from Germany, and from Norway, from all the best countries on the other side — came men and women who were the very embodiment not only of enterprise, of frugality, and of thrift, but also of intelligent appreciation of whatever is best in our political and educational institutions. In matters of education, as well as in patriotic devotion to the country, these immigrants, led in point of numbers by the Germans and Norwegians have become almost the most American of us all. They rushed to the rescue of the flag, with a zeal worthy of the State that can boast of the exploits of the Iron Brigade. How nobly did they do their part in making Gettysburg and Chiccamauga as renouned for all time as are Marathon and Platæa, and Sempach and Runnymeade. What proud names among the citizens of this State does the mere mention of these nationalities recall! And how invariably and enthusiastically have these new Americans favored a generous policy towards all the higher impulses of science and of art and of education!

In a State controlled by such a people, and by such a public sentiment, education in all of its grades will be perpetuated and encouraged. All that is needed is, that in the busy affairs of life, the people shall be duly informed in regard to conditions and needs. It is the educated and those

who desire education for their children, that must be relied upon to protect and encourage education. The task of enlightening public opinion concerning the relations of the University to the State must very largely rest with the the wisdom of the graduates who go out from these halls. The people must be kept familiar with the fact that their fathers took the Land Grant Funds from the service of higher education and devoted them to the general service of the Commonwealth. They should be made to see that the State is still the debtor of the University. They should be led to understand that beautiful University grounds and buildings, however desirable, no more furnish an education, than does a beautiful dining room with a beautiful dining table furnish a dinner. They should be reminded that enormous advances in every branch of higher education have been made, within the last few years; and they should be made to feel that the institution which contents itself with mere externals, will become hopelessly inferior, and fail ignominiously to perform its part. They should be made to realize that no University in the country has made a better beginning than this, or now has a more glorious opportunity. They should be shown, that, if the policy and the purposes of the fathers are carried out, the University here may become in Wisconsin what the universities of Oxford, and Cambridge, and Edinburgh, are in Great Britain; what the universities of Berlin and Leipsic, and Heidelberg are in Germany; what the University of Paris is in France; what Harvard is in Massachusetts—great centers from which radiate the lights of literature, science, and the arts, the highest glory of the State, and the crown of civilization. As has well been said, the dynasties of the Hohenstaufens, the Bourbons, and the Napoleons have perished, but the Universities live on, and still give lustre to whatever is noblest and best.

If those who go out from these halls unite with liberal minded men and women everywhere in a wise preaching

of a wise educational gospel, then it will be made certain, that the aspirations of those who have gone before will be fulfilled by those who are to follow, and that the future of all grades of education in this noble State will be secure.

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIV.
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE INAUGURATION

OF

BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER

AS

PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY

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THE
INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT WHEELER.

The exercises involving the formal inauguration of Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler as President of the University of California were held on the University athletic grounds, on the afternoon of the twenty-fifth day of October. At two o'clock a procession, composed of President Gilman, President Jordan, President Wheeler, the Regents, members of the Faculties, and guests of the University, moved from Stiles Hall to a temporary platform that had been erected at the place of meeting. An audience of several thousand persons had already assembled. At a few minutes after two o'clock Dr. Jacob Voorsanger offered a prayer as the opening of the exercises. Mr. A. S. Hallidie, one of the Regents of the University, made a brief introductory address, which was followed by the addresses of President Jordan, President Gilman, and President Wheeler. The four addresses are here printed in the order in which they were delivered. At the end of President Wheeler's address the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. Horatio Stebbins.

MR. HALLIDIE'S ADDRESS.

Twenty-seven years ago, lacking two weeks, the Board of Regents of the University of California called you together in Oakland to witness the inauguration of one of the distinguished men of the country as president of the

University, whose career since his departure from these shores, over a quarter of century since, has been upward and forward and full of distinction and honor, and whose presence here to-day emphasizes his early love for California and for its University.

A few months later, on the sixteenth day of July, 1873, you were summoned to meet for the first time on these grounds, when the University formally entered upon the site at Berkeley, and when President Daniel C. Gilman addressed the graduating class of twelve, the first of the University's four-year classes, telling them they were jurors sworn to tell the truth and bidding them to be apostles bearing everywhere the Master's lessons.

To-day you are summoned to witness the inauguration as president of this University of a man alike distinguished in the world of letters as a scholar and in the world of affairs as a citizen.

By a happy conjunction we are honored, too, by the presence of the president of our sister university, so that we witness here the three wise men of the East meeting at the birth of the new University. This circumstance of the occasion is a happy one, full of hope and encouragement, and augurs well for its destiny.

The inspiration of the moment revives the memory of the past and recalls the following prophetic words of our president of twenty-seven years ago: "The possible relation of this University to the new civilization of the Pacific Coast and to the enlightenment of Asiatic nations give a special interest to its work, for it is obvious that California is not only granary, treasury, and mart for the American States, but it is the portal through which the Occident and the Orient must exchange their products and their thoughts. China and Japan, Australia and the islands of the sea are the neighbors and the customers of the Golden Gate. Shall they not also look here for instruction in the arts and sciences and for an example of a well-organized and well-educated community?"

The building of a university requires the presence and influence of such men, and quoting again from the same source: "It is not the site, nor the halls, nor the Board of Regents which draw the scholars—it is the body of living teachers, skilled in their specialties, eminent in their calling, loving to teach. Such a body of teachers will make a university anywhere; such men will draw, not pupils only, but the books and collections they require as naturally as of old Orpheus drew the rocks and beasts. The spirit of the place will be the spirit of the faculty. If truth and culture are their aim, truth and culture will flourish in the college where they toil."

I am glad to be able to bring these words face to face with their author, after his long, and, to us, regretful absence.

The founders of the republic, eleven years after the Declaration of Independence, in dedicating two townships for the support of a "literary institution under direction of the legislature of each state," prepared the way for the founding of the greater institutions of learning, known as state universities, but which become great only as they are wisely governed and generously nurtured. For the former the president of the university and the Board of Regents are responsible; for the latter the State Legislature and private munificence.

The tone of the donations of the general government conveys the injunctions that the state receiving such donations shall, through its legislature, maintain the university with care and liberality. The Constitution of this State stipulates "that the Legislature shall provide that, if through neglect, misappropriation or any other contingency, any part of the funds so set apart shall be diminished or lost, the State shall replace such portion so lost or misappropriated, so that the principal thereof shall remain forever undiminished."

But let the national government and the state be never so liberal, a university can never attain greatness except

through the embodiment of that spirit which works for the elevation of man in the broadest, highest, and noblest sense.

In California the State University has been broadened and stimulated by the presence and kinship of the Leland Stanford Jr. University, founded by Leland Stanford, ex-Governor and ex-United States Senator, and maintained through the delay and uncertainties of litigation, perils and vicissitudes of youth, by the loyalty and unselfishness of a noble woman—all honor to her—the widow of the founder; and California has become richer, too, by the presence of that other wise man of the East, President David Starr Jordan.

The growth of the student body in ten years, from 1888 to 1898, from 306 to 1,665, has taxed the ability and the resources of the Regents, not only pecuniarily, but in another and perhaps more vital direction, to find a man alike distinguished for his learning, breadth of apprehension, knowledge of affairs, and administrative capacity. The first problem still perplexes them, the last one they have solved.

But, full of faith, and in the face of the inequality of demand and resources, the Regents have decreed that, like the Palatine school of Charlemagne, the University shall be absolutely free to all who seek after knowledge; relying on the Executive of the State, through whose efforts this decision was reached, to keep the ship of knowledge clear of the strand.

In this crisis of collegiate expansion, when we are acquiring rich and new territory in the field of learning, and developing untold wealth in every department of science, when through the natural laws of development we have broken through the shell that has been quietly resting in the nest of contentment and now realize the activities which surround us, we are brought face to face with our responsibility and the great need of a guiding hand and clear head to manage the young giant that claims Berkeley

as its place of nativity, and whose strong lungs cry out lustily for help.

Listening to the call, and perhaps seeing the star descend on this western shore, the other wise man of the East comes to Berkeley, yea, even from Ithaca, and bends before the shrine of duty to devote that manhood which God has graced him with, to the cause of learning, progress, and humanity.

Recognizing the personality, the sterling character, noble aim and scholarly attainments of Benjamin Ide Wheeler, the Board of Regents, acting under the authority of the law, has elected him to the high and responsible office of president of the University of California; and, congratulating the people of the State upon the selection, Mr. President Wheeler, I now deliver to you, sir, these keys, the insignia of your great office, and assure you of the coöperation, the confidence, and the good will of the Board of Regents and of the people of California.

PRESIDENT JORDAN'S ADDRESS.

I am asked, as a loyal citizen of California and as a representative of a sister republic of letters, which California cherishes across the bay, to add a word to the generous welcome which California gives to the President of her University. My words, Mr. President, shall be words of advice, not that you need it, or should ever heed it, but because there is no other article of value with which I can so willingly part.

It is a saying of Emerson that "colleges can only serve us when their aim is not to drill but to create. They draw every ray of varied genius to their hospitable halls, and by their concentrated influence set the heart of our youth into flame." The most precious thing in human life is personality. It is by this we know our friends and for this we love them. In most respects, as living organisms, men are alike. Each has eyes, hands, organs, dimensions,

senses, affections, passions, is fed with the same food, hurt by the same weapons, warmed or cooled by the same winter or summer, and each in his degree is "pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw." For all this we do not care. What is all alike never interests us. It is the slight and subtle elements of difference which help us to know one man from another, which enable us to love, to respect, to worship one man above his fellows. Among a thousand vegetative characters, we are touched by the one quality of personality, made up of a dozen minor attributes of kindness, wit, gladness, brilliancy, effectiveness, making a whole which we may love, fear, or obey.

In the same way, a university must have personality, else it cannot be great. A university is an aggregation of professorships, departments, buildings, books, seminaries, and laboratories. But it is more than this. It is a place where students of all degrees come together in the democracy of learning. It is an alliance of men devoted to the discovery and administration of the truth. But this is not all of the university ideal, for all universities, in their degree, are devoted to the same ends. In superficial regards all universities are alike. All have buildings, libraries, museums, microscopes, professorships. These are the university's vegetative organs. Without these it would not live, but by these only one university would not differ from another. It is not for these things all have in common that we know universities. Just as with men, it is the subtle element of personality. The Harvard spirit, the Cornell spirit, the Yale spirit, the spirit of Berkeley, the spirit of Stanford, all these are matters as real as the buildings or the books, and more important.

For the most valuable feature of a university is its character, the nature of its university atmosphere. This atmosphere is the conscious or unconscious work of the men who control. The atmosphere of greatness gathers around great teachers. Werner at Freiberg, Döllinger at Munich, Arnold at Rugby, Tappan at Ann Arbor, Hopkins at

Williamstown, Agassiz at Cambridge, White at Ithaca; these serve only as illustrations. As with these, so with all great teachers everywhere.

As the universities of America are constituted, it is the part of the president to create the university atmosphere. He must set its pace, must frame its ideals and choose the men in whom these ideals can be realized. It is through the men he chooses that the university becomes a living person. The president is not himself the king. His noblest work is that of maker of kings. It is not what the president himself can do that first concerns the university. His personal power, skill, or versatility cuts but little figure. It is what he can discern and divine in other men that guages success. It is his instinct to know what the best work of others may be and how he can use it in the fabric he is building. A long head and long patience, he must needs have, for he has often to wait years for men to grow to what he expects of them, and others to find men to whom he can look for the right kind of growth. He must have the instinct to judge men and to estimate what men say of men. He must be keen to recognize in others qualities of worth he may not possess himself. He must have the wisdom to foster individual freedom and the firmness to check that freedom that spends itself in futile, erratic, or sentimental efforts.

Out of all this and a hundred other elements, it is your place, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, as President of the great University of our great State, to construct your purpose and your policy, and to give the University its personality, its color, and its atmosphere. Above all rests with you the forming of its moral tone, for after all character-building is the noblest work of the university, and I am one of those who believe that in this work the university may be made the most effective agency. I have known you for many many years, Dr. Wheeler—thirteen years, is it not?, in all—always adequate to the work the gods set you to do. I know that you can meet, and will meet, all that the State expects

of you. Because this is so, I regard this day, this 25th day of October, 1899, as one of the greatest, full of the fullest of hope, of all the days in the calendar of California.

Just one word more.

Some time ago, a Regent of the University said to me, "Now that we have Wheeler, we must change our notion of rivalry. Henceforth it shall not be Berkeley against Stanford, nor Stanford against Berkeley, but California against the world." Now, in all seriousness, why not? We recognize how natural advantages count in every field of labor, horse-raising, fruit-growing, ship-building. Why not in education? In the environment fittest for training young men and women, there are three mighty elements—healthfulness, beauty, freedom. These three are the distinctive characteristics of California. A perfect climate which calls one out of doors at all times of the year, and rewards him for his coming, matchless beauty of mountain and forest, of lake and of the sea, of hill and river, and with endless elbow room, intellectually, physically, and morally. If we add to this the two Universities, rival and coöperating, as well endowed as the best, and fairer in houses and outlook than the most beautiful of all the land, why should not California become a world-center of education? Men once flocked to Athens for such things. Why should they not come here? Why not Berkeley and Stanford, together and indivisible, against the world?

It has been Dr. Wheeler's good fortune and mine to sit at the feet of the same great master, Andrew D. White. We can remember President White's appeal to his alumni, that, wherever we might go, we should stand by "our State universities, for in them is the educational hope of the South and West." We of Stanford are not deaf to this appeal. We are citizens of California loyal and true. We shall stand by our State university, for in its development is the educational hope of our Golden West, and we pledge to President Wheeler our help in fullest loyalty, whenever and wherever and howsoever he may ask our aid.

PRESIDENT GILMAN'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Board of Regents and Faculty; Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great delight to stand once more before an assemblage of large-hearted and large-minded Californians, and, if I should tell you of the emotions that are awakened at this moment, before I could close, the sun would not only disappear beyond the eucalyptus, but would sink into the Pacific Ocean.

When the distinguished scholar whom we now salute as President of this great University, invited me, in the name of the Board of Regents, to return to Berkeley, the home of my early manhood, and to stand upon this platform, I asked him what sort of a speech would be expected, and he replied: "Tell them your own experiences after leaving California." I shall obey him, for he is in the seat of authority and entitled to the loyal response of every friend upon whom he may call for support and counsel. But before I go forward to the principal part of my remarks, let us pause for a moment to consider what this occasion means.

Every one of us, without doubt, is filled with curious anticipation respecting the new epoch,—the students eager for knowledge and just awakening with the enthusiasm of youth to the charms of science and literature, the parents and friends who stand by, ready to make any sacrifice for the education of those who are dear to them, the devoted teachers whose lives are consecrated to the development of the intellectual and moral character of those who are under their tuition, the generous givers of their plenty, the Regents, alive to their great responsibility, and the officers of the State which has so liberally dealt with its worthy offspring,—all are deeply concerned in the issues of this year.

Look back only half a century and remember that fifty years ago the pioneers of '49, many of them college bred, brought to this coast the simple conception of a college as

they had known it in the Eastern States. Some of them were sure that the charm of knowledge was in the past, and that the traditional curriculum was the royal road to knowledge. Others were certain that in "this new world beyond the new world" (as Charles Kingsley said here many years ago) new problems demanded new methods of solution. One of these pioneers, Henry Durant (the gentlemen on the platform will remember him) came, as he said, "with college on the brain," and he builded better than he knew. Another, Frederick Billings, came with his eyes dazzled by the vision of Berkeley and his ears ringing with the familiar quatrain which predicts "the course of empire," and secured our name. All these and other pioneers, as they planned and as they delved and planted, were persuaded by the experience of centuries, (although they did not always say so), that "wisdom is better than gold, yea than much fine gold."

Advance the record five-and-twenty years. The College of California, founded by such men, has expanded into the University of the State; the humble restricted plot in Oakland has been exchanged for these broad acres, looking out to the Golden Gate; the grounds are consecrated to the higher education with speeches from Governor Booth and Bishop Kip, and by the graduation of the first of that long file of departing scholars, never to be concluded, whose academic life is associated with Berkeley.

A quarter of a century after the exodus, and half a century after the creation, we are now witnesses of the dawn of a new epoch. It is under these circumstances, that a veteran who has bathed in the fountain of youth, comes forward to congratulate the University of California on this auspicious day, as rich in memories and achievements as it is in promises and prospects.

I congratulate you on the succession of great gifts, which have supplemented the appropriations of the State, and upon the development of great principles, which have attracted to this place, throngs of young men and maidens

in the pursuit of a liberal education, while other students have been enabled to secure in San Francisco their professional training in the legal and medical sciences and in the fine arts.

With heartiness for which no tones can be too emphatic, I congratulate you on the far-sighted munificence of that generous woman, whose hope it is that the buildings of this university shall be worthy of its aims, and who desires that they shall not be constructed hap-hazard, as in other places the usage has been, but conformable to a plan, selected by fair and well-trained judges, from plans submitted to them by accomplished architects of Europe and America; and who has determined by her own munificence to set an example that others are ready to emulate. May her purpose be as fruitful as the gift of Devorguila, early benefactor of a great college in Oxford; and her name be held in gratitude and admiration for centuries to come.

I congratulate you especially, my old friends in the University, that as you stand upon Mount Pisgah and look toward the promised land, you are led by Joshua. Moses, for his chastisement, was not permitted to enter upon the land flowing with milk and honey. No doubt he was disappointed; gladly would he have continued in the service, but *dis aliter visum*, and the leadership has fallen to a younger and stronger chief.

I congratulate you that you have chosen a President, as did the authorities of Leland Stanford University, from among scholars who have breathed the inspiring atmosphere of Cornell University. It is indeed propitious that these two California presidents, divergent in their studies, yet single in their aims, have drunk from the fountains of Ithaca, which were opened by one whose love of historical studies is equalled by his devotion to science—the scholar, teacher, statesman, and peace-maker, now our minister in Germany, Honorable Andrew D. White.

Few persons know, as I do, what a persistent, sagacious, and sensible search the Regents made for a President. If

they were eager to give an example of original investigation, which never rests until a finality is reached—they could not have done better. But their difficulties did not end with their discovery; persuasion was harder than research. The leader of their choice had received many previous calls to which his ear remained deaf. The ties of intellectual and social friendship, the assurance that a professor's chair is stable, while a president is usually offered that which looks more comfortable, but is really shaky—in fact, a rocking chair; and the consciousness that in an old state the traditions of higher education are sure of recognition—were considerations of weight. He has wisely decided. Greater opportunities on a broader field, the generous support of the authorities, and that large-heartedness and large-mindedness which have ever been alluring characteristics of the Californians, have captured him; and now with one voice his friends in the East, his new friends in the West bid him God-speed. Bind him with bands of steel; strengthen his hands; confirm his plans; listen to his counsel, and soon you will know, what you now believe, that the right man is here—suggestive, strong, hopeful, wise, and inspiring; ready to promote the vigor, the industries, the wealth, the literature, the science, the arts, the politics, and the religion of this great State.

This is not the sort of a speech, President Wheeler, which you asked me to make. I have indeed wandered from my theme. But I could not help it. Besides, I think that if you are not with me, the assembly is, and that their hearts now beat in unison a welcome to Berkeley, to its cares and opportunities, to its honors and rewards.

You asked me to speak of my own observations and reflections during the period since I left California. I will do so briefly. The growth of scientific laboratories is one of the most extraordinary developments of the recent decades. Not long ago chemistry was the only science which had this adjunct. Now every department which is concerned in the investigation of natural forces demands,

and in strong institutions has secured, the halls in which, the apparatus by which laws may be verified, investigations carried on, and students made familiar with the processes and methods by which mankind reveals the mysteries of nature. Even clinical medicine now calls for its laboratory. Psychology likewise. Everywhere students are now taught to use their own eyes and their own hands. The study of nature, by experiment and by observation, has established its place side by side with, sometimes a little in advance of, the study of mankind. By such studies, not often directly, but always indirectly, the great achievements of mechanical and electrical art have been secured. The methods of correspondence, travel, and commerce have gone through a revolution. Warfare has been changed, and the Oregon and her sisters have shown that it is possible to win great victories, over seas and over enemies, without the sacrifice of the victor's blood. Among the achievements of the nineteenth century, none is more fertile than the introduction of instruments of precision, and the employment of measurements mathematically accurate. The American laboratories, observatories, and surveys are among the best attainments of our countrymen, and justify the utterance of German observers, that the most important contributions of our country to the world are the new developments of university activities.

The expansion of our libraries and their adaptation to the wants of students has made equal progress with the multiplication of laboratories. They have become working places, where the experience of mankind is stored up, where the latest publications of scholarship are received, where youth are trained in the methods of literary investigation, and are introduced to the "friendship of books," the intimate and repose-giving, soul-refreshing, thought-inspiring acquaintance with the noblest writings of every age and every clime. The time was when the lecture-room was the only channel for such introductions; now the sagacious teacher supplements his teaching by lessons in the art of

reading, which is the art of discarding the second best and choosing always the very best. With this goes the love of history and biography, so that we can readily assent to the recent utterance of an English essayist, that the glory of which no man can deprive our poor dying *siécle* is that not one, of all the others, since history began, has taken such pains to understand the centuries previous.

The natural result of these two movements is seen in this, that there is no longer, within the range of public audition, any controversy as to the comparative value of ancient and modern studies, no question as to the relative value of science and letters. All have honorable places. Consequently the one curriculum has gone; many roads are leading to Rome.

With these changes, it is interesting to note the clarification of the idea of the university. It may include a college; or several colleges; but it is more than a college, more than a group of colleges. It is the highest expression which any community can give to its intellectual aspiration; the most complex, diversified, and fruit-bearing organism which any community can devise for the intellectual or moral welfare of its people. It is a place where the latest science, the noblest literature, and the purest art are employed in the higher education of well-disciplined youth. To this clarification of ideas, an admirable contribution was made by our honored colleague, Professor Joseph LeConte, in his essay on The School, the College, and the University.

The admission of women to the advantage of higher education is another of the remarkable changes of recent years. The methods differ. Sometimes, usually in the Western States, there is a complete co-education. In the Eastern States there is partial co-education, where certain courses of advanced study are open to women, but the tendency appears to be more favorable for building up separate colleges for women, often like Radcliffe and Barnard, in connection with or near to the college for men, but sometimes independent like Vassar, Wellesley, Smith

and Bryn Mawr. Each community has its own problem to solve; whatever the method, the world is sure to be the better for generously opening to women the opportunities from which they have been too long excluded.

The advancement of professional schools is another remarkably promising movement,—especially schools of law and medicine. I call special attention to the latter for the changes in the medical schools of the East within five years past are wonderful, and will surely be followed by this University. Prolonged courses of study, high standards of admission, ample facilities for observation in laboratories and clinics, rigid terms of graduation, enlarged freedom of intercourse with skillful teachers selected as the best of their profession, are among the changes that are prolific in good.

The services of universities to the commonwealth are so numerous that a discourse might be devoted to them.

Finally, I mention among the noteworthy changes of the last few years, greater liberality on the part of religious leaders towards the methods of modern thought, less apprehension, more generous sympathy when science, language, and history speak. And, on the other hand, it is equally worthy of note that intellectual men, whether they be devoted to letters, science, law, or education are more and more ready to admit, not only to admit but to declare, that the things which are seen are temporal, and the things that are unseen are eternal; that beneath all forms of worship there is a true religion binding man to his creator; that the mysteries of life are just as great as they were in the days of Solomon and Plato. Much more than this, they believe that the discoveries of microscope and telescope, the more they are prosecuted the more they reveal a plan, and the more incomprehensible that plan appears without the belief in one living and true God.

It is delightful to hear an orthodox theologian utter these words and to believe that in the minds of most naturalists they find a loud echo:

"If a man can understand the universe in its long unfolding, it is because the universe in its long unfolding expresses the thoughts of a rational mind that is akin to the mind of man that understands it. By the doctrine of evolution the universe is for the first time consistently represented as a universe of ideas,—that is to say, as an expression of God. From of old, Christian faith and doctrine have declared it to be so; but now comes the doctrine of evolution to illustrate and confirm the declaration, so that it cannot be denied again. To deny the presence of mind in the universe is to be belated in the world of evolutionary thought. If the common man comes to a true conception of the world he lives in, he will find the day far past when he could question the presence and activity of the all-comprehending mind."

May I conclude these remarks with three or four suggestions? I speak not only to the Faculty and the Regents, I speak to all of you who in any way whatever desire to be enrolled as friends of learning; and I say, "Encourage investigation." Help everybody who is willing to engage in such work; especially lend a hand in the development of the resources and industries of the State.

Second. Bring hither all the experiences of the human race in ancient and modern times that the seed may be sifted out and planted and the chaff rejected and burned. Establish a great library. Cultivate the love of letters. As I say these words I see the image of a young poet, too early snatched away, who was once a professor of literature in this University, Edward R. Sill. I trust that his mantle has fallen upon another poet here. I hope that many men and women are to come up and make large the column, already on the march, of those who have produced a literature redolent with the experiences, the hope, the beauties, and the aspirations of the Pacific Coast.

Encourage, particularly at this time, the development of the medical sciences. I doubt if anybody who has not had his attention called to the recent progress of medicine

and surgery has any idea what an epoch is opening before us; what trained men and women are coming to the front; what new methods of observation and treatment have been discovered; what light has been thrown on the causes, the prevention, and the cure of disease. It will be a noble purpose to extend and strengthen in every possible way the medical faculty of this University.

Remember the importance of politics. I am not afraid to use the word "politics," and to urge every young man who goes out of college to "go into politics;" not in the sense of aspiring to political office, not in the sense of managing men in an unworthy way, but in the sense of devotion to the public good. One of the best signs of the times is the fact that most of the young men who go out from our colleges are interested in public affairs. They are on the side of good government; they believe in Civil Service reform; and they look with hope and not fear toward the future of our country.

Finally, ladies and gentlemen, face the Pacific Ocean and do not be afraid of it. I was startled when the chairman read my own predictions of a quarter of a century ago. I noticed that one word was left out—he did not quote anything about the Philippines.

(Regent Hallidie—"You mentioned 'the islands of the sea.'")

He reminds me that I mentioned "the islands of the sea," but I do not believe I was thinking anything about the Philippines. Now, for better or worse, for richer or poorer, we are there. Yonder is the gateway by which people are going to the Orient. The next five-and-twenty years will certainly show vast influences, for good or for evil, on all the eastern countries, proceeding from California. Unquestionably the national government of the future will send leaders to the East who have dwelt on these shores. Unquestionably the minor offices of government will largely be filled with young men going out from this region. Your ships are to transport not merchandise

only but ideas. Your influences of every sort are to be felt in these far distant countries; first in Hawaii, then in the Philippines, and afterwards, I believe, in the countries of Eastern Asia, Japan and China.

There are two or three things which this University can do. It can advocate a pure Civil Service and the selection of competent men for posts of responsibility. An English traveler told me not long since, that England never awakened to a sense of the importance of good home government until her young men were sent to India, and there brought into contact with other races and with men of other nations and were thus forced to show the very best qualities which the Anglo-Saxon race possesses. I believe that the sending out of our young men to the Orient will be the means of promoting a love for a better government at home than any we now possess. Civilization as it goes forward will not only need official representatives,—teachers will be called for. There is already a university of some sort at Manila; but it certainly would be propitious if the Americans, if the Californians could do as General Kitchener did at Khartoum—establish a college in Manila, an off-shoot of Berkeley and Stanford.

I must conclude. My message is summed up in these words: Uphold and cherish and hand on the idea of liberal culture as one of the most important heirlooms which our generation possesses. Never say a word to disparage it; and if sometimes those in authority seem to check the development of our plans, it may be because husks and chaff are mixed with the grains of wheat.

Let us study the progress of human civilization, remembering that by ideas the world is governed. They are stronger than kings in council, or representatives in Congress; more enduring than Bills of Right, or written constitutions, or governments, or treaties, or creeds: they bind together men of different speech, of different race, of different parties: they give unity to human purposes: they promote human progress: and universities are the

exponents of these ideas. We accept them as an inheritance from an antiquity we know not how remote; we pass them on to generations we know not how distant, to lands we know not how far.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT WHEELER.

Governors, Members, Friends of the University of California: You have laid upon me a heavy task; you have entrusted me with a high responsibility; you have crowned me with opportunity. A consciousness of my own limitations, which time and experience have made reliable and definite, would have forced the gleam of opportunity into the thick shadow of the task, had not your hearty confidence, which placed both in my way, called faith to the seat of distrust.

As it were in a night a college has grown here into the dimensions of a university. A torrent-influx of students has overwhelmed and burst the barriers of organization, equipment, funds, and shelter. A mass of rapidly developing professional schools drawn beneath the name and aegis of the University have become attached to its organization by bonds of varying strength, but all ill-tested and uncertainly set. The schools of the state have been recently brought into a close connection with the University, a connection which is still tentative, but which looks towards a fine unity of action, toward a common aim. To intensify the stress and confusion, all things have happened at a period when throughout the land the whole mechanism of university education is in progress of readjustment and adaptation to larger work. Shifting, experiment, and change are on every hand: nowhere have settled norms been reached. All has happened, too, at a time when the state universities of this country are passing through a gradual change in the form of their government regarding educational and internal affairs. The earlier conception of the

relation of the governing board to the regulation of these internal affairs, fashioned after the analogy of the government of other state institutions, has been seen to place the state universities at such decided disadvantage to those of private endowment that the sound principle of internal self-government in things spiritual has come steadily more and more to acceptance. All this has come into being—the growth of the student list, the development of the professional schools into university stature, the consolidation of school standards under university coöperation, the liberalization of the state universities, the disturbance of general educational traditions—all this has come into being during a period at whose climax the unfolding of national and international history has suddenly laid the burden of a great responsibility upon the shoulders of California by setting it in the center instead of at the confines, by putting it in the fore rank for the great commercial, industrial, and social conflict that is to absorb the thought and effort of the twentieth century. All this it is which heaps the task, all this it is which opens the gate of opportunity.

If all the pressing needs of the University were marshalled in array, long would be the list. It will be enough if some few which force themselves on brief observation most obtrusively to attention be presented as examples. The enormous and constant increase in the number of students has been proving in recent years a positive embarrassment to the institution. As tuition, in accordance with the unmistakable desire of the State, is free to all, this increase brings no corresponding relief to the income. If the university work is to be maintained on its present level of efficiency, greatly increased supply of funds for the plain instruction must be supplied from some source, private or public.

The provisions of buildings and equipment has lagged far behind the need, and only temporary expedients have in recent years been adopted. So thorough-going is the need that nothing short of entire rebuilding and equipping

can now be proposed. The wisdom and foresight of one whose life and strength and means have been unreservedly consecrated to the service of the public good have provided a plan of building, which constitutes the one frank and competent recognition of the obligations laid upon this institution. All else has been tentative, halting, doubting; this sees with the open eye of faith and the certain vision of conviction.

Among the demands for the internal development of the University none rank in my estimation with those of the library. The present collection has been made with great skill and sobriety. By universal consent it contains little waste material. But it is far too small and incomplete in any department to serve the purposes of advanced study and research. In their isolation from the Eastern store-houses of learning our scholars require and deserve more than ordinary resources of this kind. If the best men are to be brought here and kept here, we must be able to assure them first of all that the library will afford them means to keep their learning abreast of the times, and that their coming to California shall not mean the suicide of creative scholarship.

A library located here has also in more than one regard special opportunity and obligation. We are tangent to the domain of the farthest world—half of which the western world knows yet but little, but of which it will be called upon in the coming centuries to know much. Here on the borderland as in Alexandria of old must be garnered the accumulated lore of the east as well as the west.

We are located, furthermore, on the soil which Spain took as its portion of the New World. Now that her heritage has in large measure fallen to us we are bound to collect and establish here—and to do it before it is too late—all that records or can illustrate the history and fortunes of the Spanish occupation of North and South America. Instead of seventy-five thousand volumes there ought to be today three hundred thousand; instead of an

income for purchases of four thousand dollars there ought to be thirty thousand. The library force is seriously overworked, the building is overcrowded. A fireproof building, equipped with seminary rooms on the most generous scale, must be provided within the next three or four years.

The newly founded school of commerce enters upon a wide and hopeful field. We have suddenly become an exporting nation instead of a home-market nation. Material civilization is extending in terms of iron, and we must supply the world with its mechanisms and with many of the products of its mechanisms. The study of international trade conditions and of foreign needs and markets becomes therefore a first interest of the American commercial world. Here of all places in the land is the chosen spot for the training of those who are to be the intelligent guides and emissaries of trade, whether as trade agents of private interests or as consuls who represent through the general government the public interest. Here can be collected to best advantage data concerning the condition of markets in the Asiatic world, and here can be taught to best advantage the manners, customs, social conditions, civilization, and languages of that world.

The peculiar situation and condition of California makes certain definite demands upon this University which it cannot afford for one moment to neglect. In the field of mining engineering we must of course lead the world. In agriculture we must have the unquestioned best, and particularly in the applications of agriculture to pomology and horticulture, we must have the means of very decided extension and development beyond what is now provided. The dependence of California, with its long periods of drought, upon a reliable water supply for mining and irrigation, and its exposure during the rainy season to fearful losses by floods, demand that without delay the wit of the hydraulic engineer be directed to the problem of storing the flood waters of the State. It is a peculiar problem, and the University must guide accumulated capital

and public beneficence to the solution of it. Not only the naked hills of California, but the whole desert western slope of the continent, call for special study of the forest problem. A school of forestry is an earnest and instant need. The waters that sent forth the Oregon deserve a school of naval engineering. The attention of the national government, which now has a Pacific as well as an Atlantic to care for, should be directed toward this need. But what it does can be done in coöperation with the University as an already established institution, and through development and differentiation of the existing courses.

The uncertain relation of the various professional schools to the body of the University will demand careful attention in the immediate future. The University cannot permanently lend the use of its name to departments or institutions over which it has no real control. The whole problem is not so much one of legality, however, or one of control, but one of thorough coöperation and of the prevention of duplication in academic work.

If I am not led astray by brief impressions, the tone and instinct of the people of California promises for the future a strong development of artistic taste and aesthetic demand. Signs of the presence of a strong bent toward literary art are unmistakable, and nowhere do I see more promise for the rise of a distinctive type of literary art than here in the freshness and vigor and warmth and alertness of the Pacific Coast life. This movement it belongs to the University, already rich in excellent traditions of literary production, to stimulate and lead.

Among all the arts, that of architecture will, by common consent, be allowed to represent California's greatest present lack. When the University shall have once begun to teach this art by good example, it may also and must undertake to teach by good doctrine as well.

Under the stimulus of museums of archaeology and art already planned and whose equipment is already in generous

purpose and act begun, and through the coöperation in practical training of the Art Association and Institute, we have definite hope and prospect of great things in the field of art education.

Among the opportunities of lesser endowments none offer more immediate hope of appreciative reception and general usefulness than the establishment of lectureships which, under an annual income of $1000 to $2000, should call into temporary residence at the University the ablest scholars of the world. Both the isolation and the essential cosmopolitanism of this academic community demand and suggest such provision. The creation of traveling fellowships, which would allow the best of our students the opportunity for travel and study abroad, would prove a stimulus to our own work and supplement powerfully that equipment of our University which aids its graduates to climb the ladder of professional attainment.

So the list of my examples draws itself out into unseemly length. The need is so vast—but it is a genuine opportunity that fashions the need! We appeal to a great people, noble and large-hearted as their domain is blessed and rich. Mountain-side and sea, soil and sunshine have dealt bountifully with them. The mines, the harvests, and the paths of the great deep have yielded to their zeal abundant tribute. They are liberal men, and the liberal man in the fullness of his heart deviseth liberal things. Only the best has in the past been good enough for California, and we propose now for the institution which shall represent and lead its higher life, nothing but the best. If watchfulness and incessant care can effect it, not a dollar shall be wastefully expended, but if the large view can hold the meager and the mean at bay, not a dollar shall go for what is inferior or less than the best.

But with all equipments and endowments and schedules, the University that we shall build here shall be and must be a thing of life. It will be, first of all, a continuation of the life of the University that stands here now. Not one

drop of the life-blood of those who here, in wise forethought and loving toil, built their lives into the structure, can go to loss. The devotion and faith of those far-seeing men who laid the foundations of the College of California and the foundations of the University, the genial wisdom and nobility of him under whose leadership the pilgrim scholars came from Oakland to Berkeley, the unselfish service of those who since then have taught and led, preëminently the quiet, sound prudence of him whose administration during the last nine years has leveled and prepared the ground for new building—all these as life elements are part and portion of the institution and will unfold their branches and yield their fruit through all the ages.

The University shall be a thing of life, too, in that it shall be a life-bond between those who together teach and study here. Between teacher and taught there is and can be in a true university no fixed boundary line. We are all students; we are all learners; we are all teachers. All teaching which does not deal in fresh new visions of truth, truth seen and felt each time it comes to expression as a new and vital thing, animating the whole personality of him who sees and who summons the vision to the thought of others, is a dead and hopeless exercise. Education is transmission of life. The supreme purpose of the University is to provide living beings for the service of society—good citizens for the State.

Between research and instruction there can be no fixed boundary line. Vital grasp upon new truth, the perpetual attitude of discovery must animate every work. Between the various forces and instrumentalities for uplifting life and society which this community provides there can be no barriers set. The students of the ancient literatures and of the modern literatures, of the humanities and of the sciences, of the arts and of the handicrafts are all working toward a common end under the inspiration of a common spirit. They are all seeking to give life perspective and power by delivering it from slavery to ignorance and

to the rule of thumb. So, too, Berkeley and its sister university at Palo Alto, represent a common cause, and will labor together for a common end. We welcome the aid of this stout helper and we will share with it the work according to the human law of mutual helpfulness.

In the internal regulation of the university order there can be in the last analysis no fixed boundary line between the governing and the governed. The age of paternalism in university government is well nigh past. The rules and decrees of faculties which do not in the long run commend themselves to the best sense of the student public, I have found in my experience are probably wrong; they will be surely in the long run nugatory. Student bodies are to-day practically self-governing.

In a healthfully organized university the relations between the faculty and the president in his capacity as member of the university should tolerate no barriers. In the real university life the president must be a teacher among teachers, a colleague among colleagues, and the spirit of coöperation, not the spirit of authority, must determine their work together. The educational policy of the university must arise from within, from the body of teacher-colleagues and not be imposed from without by either president or governing board. Leaving aside the conception of the university as a business organization, the real university must be a family life in which loyalty of each member to the whole shall be the divine inspiring breath.

The office of president of an American university has grown with the development of American conditions into a unique institution. The great universities of the Old World have nothing resembling it. It represents neither the perpetuation of a tradition nor the introduction of an arbitrary innovation. The situation has gradually developed it. The necessity of giving the university a representative to its public constituency, whether that constituency take the form of state or sect or community

of graduates and friends, and of mediating between the divergent ideals of the supporting constituency and those of the university life, has called this office into being and endowed it with very definite functions and extraordinary powers. Many of us in loyalty to the older conception of the university bond have deplored this development, but few who have come fully to appreciate the difficulty of harmonizing the university to the demands of its constituency have disputed the necessity. The presidency is to-day the medium of communication between the two main elements which give the university life and being. The incumbent of the office, as holding a dual relation, is not only subject to misunderstanding and to the consequent and common charge of duplicity, but is placed in a position that is frankly untenable except with the full confidence and loyal coöperation of faculty and regents alike. At the present stage of its development, the office, in demanding sympathy with two widely-sundered points of view, demands almost the impossible and is the most difficult position which American society can call upon a man to fill. All this I have fully considered. None of this have I concealed from myself. I throw myself, Regents, Faculty, students, full and frankly and trustfully upon your loyal support. Without that I am nothing; with that we can accomplish great things for California, for the University, for the nation, and for the cause of enlightenment among men.

Full in the face of many difficulties and many needs, but in the presence of an inspiring hope, in clear conviction of my own shortcomings, but in consciousness of a readiness, loyally and unselfishly, with such strength as I have, to serve a public cause, I now assume with full sense of the responsibility it involves the headship of this institution. I will, in dealing with the various bodies that constitute it, consult frankness rather than tact. I will value plainness of speech more than flattery. I will not, God helping me, be tempted myself to use, nor will I suffer anyone else to use, the University for the advancement of personal

interest or ambition. Here in this presence I pledge myself, with all I am of body, mind, and heart, to be dedicated to the service of the University of California; its interests, so far as I can discern them, shall be, under truth, the supreme guide of my official action. Governors, members, alumni of the University of California, let us all to-day join hands and hearts, and here by the flaming house altar of our loyalty, in high enthusiasm for humanity and in the fear of God, dedicate ourselves together in holy covenant to the service of this University and the cause it represents. And may the Spirit which putteth wisdom into the heart of man guide us and the blessing which maketh rich abide with us forever.

THE DUTY OF THE SCHOLAR

TOWARDS

THE COMMUNITY.

P. 1132.

No. 10

THE DUTY OF THE SCHOLAR

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THE COMMUNITY,

—BEING THE—

BACCALAUREATE ADDRESS,

—BY—

PRESIDENT DAVID S. JORDAN

—OF—

THE INDIANA UNIVERSITY.

BLOOMINGTON, JUNE 6, 1886.

RICHMOND, IND.,
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THE COMMUNITY.

I am very conscious that in the little I have to say this afternoon, there is nothing whatever that is new.

Everything that I have, in one way or another, I have said before, and everything I have, has been more than once better said by others. For the scholar has been before the public eye, as long as the public ha s had an eye, and his duties and his privileges have been for more than 3000 years subjects of the best thought of the world.

The field is thus well trodden and we shall not find much that is new, but we may sometimes listen even to old stories with profit.

I wish to-day to say a plain word, and if it may be, a true word to the members of the graduating class as to some of their duties to the community.

You will soon leave us, bearing the testimonials of the University that you are men and women of culture, so far as it lies within the power of your State to make you so.

Your education is by no means finished. It is barely begun, but such as it is, it is the work of the State. Such as it is, the State offers it alike to all her children. Not all can accept the gift, but that you have done so, and have made good use of it, is shown by your presence here to-day.

Why has the State done this for you? Why are all the states in the civilized world doing the like for the young men and women within their boundaries? Is it a matter of charity? Is it a matter arising from the superfluous benevolence of a community so rich that it knows not what to do with its money? No, nothing of the sort. The statesmanship of every state and every nation has regarded the development of higher education as its plain duty to itself. The great Universities of the world have arisen, not from the overflow of riches, the whim of the millionaire,

but from the Nation's need of men, in times of trouble and anxiety. Thus, the great University of Leyden was founded in the darkest days of Holland's history, as the strongest barrier Holland could raise against Spanish oppression, as the strongest weapon Holland could place in the hands of King William the Silent.

Every state in our Union stands to-day, pledged, through its common schools, its high schools and its State Universities, to give to each one of its boys—and in the West, its girls also—the best education that he is willing to receive. And such an education Indiana has given you.

There is one great reason why the State should do this. It is to make better citizens. Our whole school system rests on this. Education makes for righteousness. Education increases earnestness of purpose. It is opposed to idleness which is the parent of crime. It is opposed to indifference which is the parent of corruption.

The rulers of Indiana, the rulers of America, are the people. Not Lord This, nor Senator That, but you and I and Brown and Jones and Robinson—all the people. "The state, that is I," said Louis XIV: "The state, that is we," we who are here to-day, and thousands more in every part of this country, men like us in powers and thoughts and with like passions with ourselves. When the roll is called, we each count one, and the majority rules.

The State—that is every man in the State—is helped by everything that makes this majority wiser, better or more enlightened.

That you are educated, if educated aright, tends to raise the price of every foot of land around you. When Emerson and Hawthorne lived in Concord, this fact was felt in the price of every city lot in Concord, for men from other towns were willing to pay out their money, to be near them.

When a certain man, a few years ago, was elected governor in Massachusetts, there were men who left that state rather than that he should be their governor. You and I are not so sensitive, perhaps, nevertheless the election of a bad governor will be felt in the falling price of land and houses, in the falling price of honesty and truth in the markets of Indiana.

It is true enough, no doubt, that the education of many men has been a losing bargain. With too many men, the power that knowledge gives is but a tool towards selfish ends.

But this is not the general rule in life. We know that on the whole, training makes for virtue. There is a natural connection between "Sweetness and Light." "A boy," says Gascoigne, "is better unborn, than untaught." We know that whatever leads the youth to look beyond

the narrow circle in which he stands, is his best safeguard against temptation. We know that if the youth fall not, the man will stand.

I shall not argue this question. I assume it as a fact of experience, and it is this fact which gives our public school system, of which my life and yours is in some degree a product, the right to exist.

"A dollar in a University," says Emerson, "is worth more than a dollar in a jail: in a temperate, schooled, law-abiding community, than in some sink of crime, where dice and knives and arsenic are in constant play."

If you take out of this town "the ten honestest merchants, and put in ten rogues with the same amount of capital, the rates of insurance will soon indicate it, the soundness of the banks will show it, the highways will be less secure, the schools will feel it, the children will bring home their little dose of the poison, the judge will sit less firmly on his bench and his decisions will be less upright: he has lost so much support and constraint, which we all need, and the pulpit will betray it in a laxer rule of life."

If taking from the community ten good men and replacing them with bad men works this serious evil, what then will result from the opposite course of action? If we add ten good men—one good man—to a community, the banks, the courts, the churches, the children and the schools should feel the difference in an impulse toward better things.

To this end has the State educated you, and with this week, this Commencement week, you will go forth from us, on this, your mission.

The State has done its duty, to itself, let us say, in educating you. But all duties are reciprocal? What is your duty to the State? The balance of credit is now on the people's side. What can you do to make the account equal?

You are to be good citizens, of course, to break no laws, to deal justly, to support your families, to keep out of jail, but all this we expect of every citizen, educated or not. The State has the right to ask more of you. It asks not only that you should break none of its laws, but that you should help to make and to sustain wise laws: that you should stand for good, for right living, for right thinking, and for right acting in the community. If you do not so stand, the people of Indiana have made a losing bargain in paying for your education.

What then shall Indiana expect of you more than of others? What, in brief, are your duties, as scholars, toward the community in which you live?

I shall not try to answer this question in all its bearings. I cannot. These duties are manifold, and it is the problem of your life-time to find

them all out. Still some few of the simplest, I will try to make plain.

And first I may say your duty is to find a place to work

Higher Education is not a device to enable a man to live without work. Its function is to make his sphere of activity wider. It is to give him leverage by which he can move objects beyond the reach of his unaided powers.

The man of elegant leisure has no permanent place in this world, and your education is not intended to fit you for such a career. Nature stings the drone to death, and freezes the butterfly in the fall. Nature has decreed that the man who does not work must starve, and her decree can only be set aside when the drone is a parasite on some worker or a receiver of stolen goods. And even then, sooner or later, she gets her revenge. Sooner or later the son of the millionaire may find his way to the County poor-house and the children of the king must yield the scepter to the son of the man that works.

I have heard a father say sometimes, I have worked hard all my life. I will give my boy an education that he may not have to work so hard as his father has. And the son going out into the world does not work as hard as his father has done. The result every time is disappointment, for the manhood which the son attains depends directly on his own hard work.

But if the father say, My son shall work as hard as I have done, work is good for him, but I will give him an education, that his hard work may count for more to the world and to him, than my own work has done for me. If the son be with this advantage as persistent as his pioneer father, the results may be far beyond the expectation of either.

If the scholar enjoys more comforts in life or a higher social standing than the uncultured man, it is solely because his education has fitted him to perform greater services to the community, for which people are willing to pay, than the man who works with his hands only. If the scholar does no work the world deems useful, then he too is left to starve.

Stand too for good work, for work which is to last. There is enough already of poor and careless work. Let whatever you do be done well. Let it be done honestly, not as to-day's makeshift but as done for all time.

High up under the roofs of the Cathedral of Cologne, there is many an image carved in stone and wrought with the most exquisite care, but which human eye has never seen since it was first placed in the niche in which it stands. This work of the Gothic sculptors was done for the sight of God and not for the worship of man, and so, it was "wrought in a sad

sincerity," which is sorely needed in our modern American life.

The Cathedral of Cologne was almost a thousand years in building. I saw, the other day, a Cathedral in Indianapolis, built in barely as many weeks as the other in centuries. The marble sculptures on its lofty towers are made of sheet iron, zinc lined, and painted to represent stone. Such is the work of the modern Cathedral builders. But the slow moving centuries will show the difference.

A Swiss watch-maker said the other day: "Your American manufacturers cannot establish themselves in Europe. The first sample you send is all right, the second lot begins to drop off, the third destroys your reputation and the fourth puts an end to your trade. All you seem to care for is to make money. What you want is some pride in your work."

If this be true of American watch-makers, let it not be true of you. Let your work, whatever it be, be of the old-fashioned sort. Let it be done, not to require each year a fresh coat of paint, but done as if forever and some of it will last. This world is crowded on its basement floor, but higher up, for centuries to come, there will still remain a niche for each piece of honest work.

The good work you do must be the work you are made for. Only that work will live. Some of us are born hammers, knives, needles, harps, trumpets. Only as such, if at all, will we be remembered. Let us remain such to the end. Not merely such, of course, for the man must be above his vocation, but let us not try to be what we cannot be, lest, failing, we be nothing at all.

The man who can "shoe a horse to the glory of God" is more to the world and to himself than if he had become a third-rate preacher or poet. It is not the calling which ennobles, but the spirit which ennobles the calling. The commonest trade followed in earnest, its work "wrought in a sad sincerity," as under the eye of God, is nobler than the most learned profession followed for the sake of the loaves and the fishes, for the sake of velvet cushions, incense and leisure.

Profligacy, says Emerson, consists not in spending, but in "spending off the line of your career. The crime which bankrupts men and states is job work, declining from your main design to serve a turn here or there. Nothing is beneath you, if in the direction of your life; nothing, to you, is great or desirable, if it be off from that."

The general purpose of public education, it is said, is the elevation of the masses. This is well, but as the man is above the mass, there is a higher aim than this. Training of the individual is to break up the masses, to draw from the multitude the man.

We see a regiment of soldiers on parade—a thousand men; in dress and mien, all are alike—the mass. To the sound of the drum or the command of the officer, they move as one man.

By and by, in the business of war, comes the cry for a man to lead some forlorn hope, to do some deed of bravery in the face of danger. From the masses steps the man. His training shows itself. On parade, no more no less than the others, he stands above them all when the day of trial comes. So too, in other things, in other places, for the need of men is not alone on the field of battle.

A hundred thousand boys were yesterday at play on the fields of Indiana. Which of these shall be the great, the good of Indiana's next century? Which of these shall redeem our State from its vassalage to the saloon and the spoilsman? Which of these shall be a centre of sweetness and light, so that the world shall say, it is good to have lived in Indiana.

These hundred thousand boys form a part of what will be the masses. Let us raise them all we can. Let us feed them well. Let us send them to school. Let us make them wise, intelligent, clean, honest, thrifty, but among them here and there is the future leader of men.

Let us raise him from the masses, or rather, let us give him a chance to raise himself, for the pine tree in the thicket needs no outside help to place its head above the sassafras and sumac. To break up the mass, that they may be masses no more, but living men and women is the mission of Higher Education, and to this end our state has educated you.

Let me speak of the pine tree again. Its head rises far above the bushes of the thicket and it becomes the glory of the forest. But let it not forget that its roots are in the ground and from a common ground all draw their strength and sustenance.

Do not stand aloof from the people, for wherever you are, from the people you draw your strength.

If you help the masses, you must stand among them yourself. You must draw them apart and give the individual a chance. To raise the ground they stand on is no easy thing unless you take off your eye-glasses and kid gloves and address yourself to the work in earnest.

Yet standing with the masses, you should never lose yourself in the mass. You should keep your own compass and know your own road. The mass may move to the left when your instinct and your principles tell you to go to the right. You may find it a hard struggle and may fail at last, but the masses, at any rate, will know of your existence and the force you have exerted will not be lost. It will make the work of your successors so much the more easy.

But all this is general; let us go somewhat into particulars. What determines your place on the questions of our time? Where should you stand when the count is taken, in politics, in morals, in religion?

What now in the matter of Politics? Not that you vote the ticket of my party or of your party or that of any other of the time honored organizations into which men naturally fall. This is not the point. For you know and I know that the questions which usually divide the two great parties of this country or of any other free country, are not, as a rule, questions of principles or morals or of good citizenship. The sheep are never all on one side and the goats on the other. The party divisions are based, for the most part, on hereditary tendencies, on present expediencies and hopes of temporary gain, and too often on the distribution of power and plunder, of power to plunder.

When your party is led by bad men, or when its course is headed in the wrong direction, your state expects you as educated men to know it. Your state expects you to have the courage of your convictions. Your state expects you to have the power to stand alone— to bolt, if need be, when other modes of protest fail. You will not win friends by asserting your manhood against partisan pressure. You will not pave the way to a vote of thanks or a nomination to congress, but you will keep your own self-respect, and some day when the party recovers its senses you will have the pleasure of seeing it come, in full run, in your direction.

To be plain, one duty of the scholar in politics, is to serve as an antidote to the thick and thin partisan, the rock ribbed Bourbon of any party who learns nothing and scruples at nothing. A good Christian, as has been well said, cannot often vote an unscratched ticket. The man who does so in whatever party, leaves in the course of years few sorts of rascals public or private, unsupported by his vote. The men your vote helps to elect are properly regarded as your representatives, and the knave, the trickster, the gambler, the drunkard, the briber, the boss should not rightfully represent you. If such do represent you, it would be better for our country if you were left unrepresented, and the state has made a losing bargain in educating you.

I do not plead for political isolation. That you stand aloof from the majority is no proof that you are right and they are wrong. For the most part, we believe, the feeling of the majority is not far from right. The great heart of the republic beats true. To doubt this would be to despair of popular government. But whether right or wrong, the majority or the party are not the keepers of your conscience. Your conscience is your own. "I went into this convention," said a brave man once, "a free

man, with my own head under my own hat, and a free man I mean to come out of it." The opinions of the majority are moulded by the few. That among these few who mould opinion you should stand, is a reason for your training in the science of politics at the cost of the State.

In all questions of public or private policy, be yourself, no matter who your grandfather was, no matter who your neighbors may be. If you are born and bred in any party think of these things. A hereditary yoke is ignoble; shake it off, and then when once a freeman you may resume your place, if you choose. If there must be a hereditary partisanship in your family, be you the man to start it. Be the first in your dynasty, and encourage your son to be the first in his.

"Free should the scholar be, free and brave!"

But your state expects more of you than mere independence of hereditary prejudices. Let it never be said of you: It is for his interest to do so and so, therefore, we can count on him. He lives in the first ward, therefore he believes in prohibition. He lives in the sixth ward, therefore his vote is for free whisky. He will make by this thing, therefore he favors that course of action.

It is much easier to be independent of political bosses than to be free from the dictation of your own selfish instincts. But the good citizen is superior to the prejudices of his locality; to the selfish interests of his trade.

The good man is a citizen of the State, not of the sixth ward, not of the iron county. Nor of the State merely; nor of the United States. The good citizen is a citizen of the world, itself as citizenship improves becoming one vast community, the greatest of all republics.

"To see things as they really are" is one of the crowning privileges of the educated man, and to help others to see them so, is one of the greatest services he can render to the community.

We have a right to expect the scholar to serve as an antidote to the demagogue. You have been trained to recognize the fetiches and bugaboos of the past, you should know those of the present.

Notions as wild, if not as wicked as the witchcraft that haunted Salem two hundred years ago, still vex our American life. The study of history is your defense against these. As "the running stream they dare na' cross" kept off the witches of old, so will your studies in this field defend you from bugaboos, alive or dead. You hold the magic wand before which the demagogue is silent and harmless. It is your duty and your privilege to use it for the people's good.

It is true that America, as Mr. Beecher has well said, is not the best

governed of the civilized nations. You know that this is so. You know that America's foreign policy is weak, vacillating, inefficient. You know that her internal policy is lavish, careless, unjust. You know that we no onger send, as in the old days, "our wisest men to make the public laws." You know that our legislative bodies from the Senate to the Board of Aldermen are not bodies of which we are proud. You know that their members, for the most part, are not men in whom the people have confidence. Our Civil Service has been one of the worst on the planet, our foreign service has been the laughing stock of Europe. Our courts of justice are neither swift nor sure. Too often the blindfold goddess who rules over them has a quick finger to discern the pressure of the finger of gold on the "wrong side of the balances."

Our tax burdens rest heaviest on the farmer and lightest on the millionaire. Our currency fluctuates for the benefit of the gambler who thrives at the laborer's cost.

Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, said not many years ago, in the Congress of our country:

"My own public life has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending little beyond the duration of a single term of senatorial office.

"But in that brief period I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corruption and maladministration.

"I have heard the taunt from friendliest lips, that when the United States presented herself in Europe in generous competition in the arts of life, the only product of her institutions in which she surpassed all others was her corruption.

"When the greatest railroad in the world was finished I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness by the discovery that every step of that mighty enterprise was taken in fraud.

"I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrine avowed by men grown old in public office that the true way in which power should be gained in the Republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service, and that the true end for which power should be used is the promotion of selfish ambition and the gratification of personal revenge."

All these things we know, and worse and they vex us and discourage us, and some there are among us, who wish that we had a heaven descended aristocracy, an aristocracy of brains at least, who could take these things out of the people's hands, out of your hands and mine, and make them and keep them right.

I do not feel thus. It is better that the people should suffer, with the remedy in their own hands, than that they should be protected by some power not of themselves. Badly though the people may manage their own affairs, the growth of the race depends on their doing it.

Some one has said: "I would rather see the whole world drunk from choice, than sober from compulsion."

This of course, is an extreme statement, for it neglects the feelings of the drinker's wife and children who having no part in the choice, must suffer through compulsion. Still the thought has in it an element of truth.

We would rather the people would rule ill through choice, than that they be ruled well through force. The reign of Terror gives more hope for the future than the reign of the Good King Henry.

It is not that the laws of England be made better that Gladstone has taken into partnership with him, as law-makers, two millions of England's farmers and workmen who can barely read or write. The laws, for a time at least will not be as good, but those for whom laws are made will be better, and the good of the people is the object of law.

It is not our confidence in Irish wisdom and prudence that leads every American to approve of home-rule in Ireland. It is our sympathy with Irish manhood and our belief that Irish manhood can manage its own affairs.

It was not that our Southern states should be better governed, that three millions of freedmen, little more intelligent in the mass than the dog and horse with which a few years before they had been bought and sold, were given the right to vote.

No better for the state perhaps, for an ignorant vote is a cowardly vote and a vote which money will buy. No better for the state perhaps, but better for humanity, that her laws should recognize the image of God hidden in each dusky skin. For lawlessness, turbulence, misgovernment is better than prosperity with its heel on the neck of a silent race which cannot rise nor speak.

But all government by the people is made better when the people come to know and feel its deficiencies. No abuse can survive long when the people have located it. When the masses know what hurts them, that particular wrong must cease. Its life depends on its appearing in the disguise of a public blessing.

To you, as educated men and women, the people have a right to look. They have a right to expect your influence in the direction of the ideal government, the republic in which government by the people shall be good government as well, the government from which no man nor woman

shall be excluded and in which no man nor woman shall be ignorant or indifferent or venal or corrupt.

But as the inner life of a nation is more important than its politics so is your duty to your neighbors more important than your duty to the State.

As in political, so in social life should the student stand as a barrier against materialism. Not alone against the elaborate materialism of the erudite philosopher. Its virus, dry and dusty, and attenuated by its transfer from German air can rarely do much harm.

But there is a subtler materialism which pervades our whole life. It sits in the cushioned pews of our churches, as well as in our marts of trade. It preaches the gospel of creature comforts and the starvation of the spirit. It preaches the gospel of selfhood, instead of the law of love. It asks of all the scholar should hold dear, of truth and beauty and goodness and sweetness and light, what are these things worth? If they will bring me no money in this world nor save my soul in the next, I want nothing of them.

As you leave these halls to-morrow, you will feel the chill of that which I have called materialism. You must keep your sympathies warm, and your soul open to all good influences, to keep it away.

"While doing with a strenous will
Whate'er your hands may find to do,
To hear the fitful music still
Of winds that out of Dreamland blew."

There is too a sort of skepticism about us, against which the scholar should be proof. Some writer has proposed that an asylum be made for what he calls spoiled phraseology; a kind of hospital in which could be placed those words which are sick unto death from overwork or misuse. Into this limbo of spoiled phraseology we may thrust this word sceptic. Once the sceptic was the man simply who had his eyes open, the man who questioned nature, and from such questioning has most of our knowledge come. But questioning with eyes open is not the same as doubting with eyes closed. There is a doubting which saps the foundation of all growth, which cuts the nerve of all progress. It is the question of Pilate, who doubted. What is truth? Whether indeed any truth exists? And whether, after all, being is other than seeming?

In this building, more than thirty years ago, a president of this University is reported to have said: "The people insist on being humbugged, so it is our duty to humbug them."

Great is the power of humbug, and many and mighty are his prophets.

Perhaps he said this in jest and not in earnest, but jest or earnest, do you never believe it.

A pin-prick in the ribs will kill the charlatan, but the man who is genuine throughout is clad in triple armour. To him and to his teachings will the people turn, long after the power of humbug is forgotten.

The studies you have followed as a scholar should teach you to know and value truth. You have found some things, which, in the words of Huxley, "you should know as true, no matter how severely they may be tested." You have acquired some knowledge, to the certainty of which no authority could add or take away one jot or tittle, and to which the tradition of a thousand years is but as the hearsay of yesterday."

On this truth can the scholar stand, as Luther stood at Worms, and "could do nothing other."

In his relations with others, the scholar can afford to be tolerant. Culture comes from contact with many minds. To the uncultured mind, things unfamiliar seem uncouth, outlandish, abhorrent.

A wider acquaintance with the affairs of our neighbor, gives us more respect for his ideas and ways. He may be wrong headed and perverse, but there is surely something we can learn from him. So with other nations and races. Each can teach us something, as can each of our neighbors of our own race.

In civilized lands, the foreigner, of whatever color is no longer an outcast, an object of fear or abhorrence, and his ideas whatever they may be will at least receive a civil reception.

The degree of tolerance which is shown by any people toward those whose opinions differ from their own, is one of the best tests of civilization. It is a recognition of individuality and the rights of the individual in themselves and in others.

I need not dwell on this theme. The growth of tolerance is one of the most important phases in the history of modern civilization. The right of freedom of the mind, the right of private interpretation is a birthright of humanity.

As the scholar has taken a noble part in the struggle which has won for us this freedom, so should he guard it in the future as one of his highest prerogatives. Abridge not the freedom of others and your own will be not abridged. Judge not, that ye be not judged.

It is each man's right to hew his own pathway toward the truth, with no man to give him let or hindrance.

If there be in this country, a town, North, South, East, West, on the banks of the Yazoo or the banks of the Wabash, where an honest man cannot speak his honest mind without risk of violence or murder or of social ostracism, in that town our freedom is but slavery still, and our

civilization but a barbarism thinly disguised.

The man who speaks may be a sage or a fool; he may be wise as a serpent or harmless as a calf; he may please us or not, yet whatever he be, his freedom of speech is his American's birthright. To words, if you like, you can answer with words. The whole atmosphere is yours, from which to frame your replies. If you are right and he is wrong, so much the stronger will your answer be. But the club, the brick, the shot-gun or the dynamite bomb are not the answer of the free man or the brave. They convince nobody and of all oppressive laws, the law which is taken in the hands of the mob, is the most despotic and most dangerous.

One of the charms of the college life as it looks to the world outside is its freedom from sordid things. Four years the student has spent in the contemplation of things not measured by any standard of dollars and cents. He has been for some of the best years of his life under the influence of men whose ambitions and hopes lie not in the direction of wealth or power or popular applause.

Almost a thousand years ago, it was written,

"Sweetly sang the monks of Ely,
When Canute the King drew near."

The colleges were the monasteries then, and in them only were things not worldly discussed and thoughts not worldly entertained.

Still to the world outside, the voice of the student to-day, like the song of the students of Ely, has in it an element which appeals to the better nature.

The influence of the college life is in the direction of high ideals. It tends to fill the student's mind with high notions of how our personal, social and political life ought to be conducted and to lead him towards discontent with that which is on a lower plane. You have all heard it said that certain reforms in American life are advocated only by college professors and by boys just out of college. It is said that these notions of college boys would be admirable in a dweller in Utopia, but are ridiculous in Nineteenth Century America. We are told that self-seeking and corruption are essential elements in our American life. That in our political and social battles we must not be squeamish, but must fight our adversaries, as devils are said to fight each other—with fire.

Of course, this charge of Utopianism is in the main true, and I trust that it may remain so. The Utopian element is one which our life sorely needs. We have fought the devil with fire long enough. Too long have we attempted good results by evil means. Too long has the right been grandly victorious through bribery, falsehood and fraud, till now we

hardly know which is worst, the bad means of our friends or the bad ends of our adversaries. The Jesuits' motto that the end justifies the means is not the motto for you.

What though all reform seem Utopian, does that absolve you? Unless your own soul dwells in Utopia, life is not worth the keeping. Your windows should look towards Heaven, not into the gutter. You should stand above the level of the world's baseness and filth.

If our scholars do not so stand; if our training end in the production merely of sharper manipulators than those we knew before, (and you know and I know there is an under current in our college life, which all of our colleges feel, tending just in that direction;) if such is to be the college influence of the future, then the sooner we bar our windows and don our striped uniform, the better for the country.

But I do not take this dark view of our future. I have faith in our young manhood, that the fittest will survive.

"Large-brained, clear-eyed, of such as he
Shall Freedom's young apostles be."

A thoughtful man has said, not long ago: "The student is one of the accredited delegates of civilization, is he not? In Heine's phrase, you are Knights of the Holy Ghost. This question is yours. What shall you do to help to arrest the progress of death in our social system? What is your answer?

"We are sure at least of what the answer is not. It is neither bullets nor books alone. It is neither pen nor sword alone. It is neither physical nor mental power alone. There is no power in iron-clads or spelling books; in military methods nor in primary methods, in kegs of powder nor in systems of diagrams to make men good. Science knows of no source of life but life. If you plant heroes, Thoreau tells us, a crop of heroes will be harvested. If virtue and honesty and integrity are to be propagated, they must be propagated by people who possess them. If this child-world about us that we know and love, is to grow into righteous manhood and womanhood, it must have a chance to see how righteousness looks when it is lived. That it may be so, what task have we but to help garrison this state of ours with men and women. If we can do that; if we can have in every square mile of Indiana a man or woman whose total influence is a civilizing power, we shall get from our educational system all it can give and all we can desire."

The scholar must stand before the community as a man of honor; as a man who in all cases is worthy of trust.

Once a king wrote to his queen, after a disastrous battle, "Madam,

all is lost—all but our honor." Such a battle can never be lost.

But in many of the battles and sham fights of the world, in most of those perhaps, in which you will be called to take part, the honor on one side or the other is the first thing to be lost.

Some men in entering public life, lay aside their consciences as Cortez burned his ships, that they may not be tempted to retreat towards honor and decency.

People say, as you have heard, that the sense of honor in our republic is waning; that sentiment in politics or business is a thing of the past. Certainly from Hamilton and Franklin and Knox and Jay to some public servants we have seen, the fall has been great, and the descent to Avernus seems easy.

We hear sometimes of men who possess the old-fashioned ideas of honor, and we associate these men with the knee-breeches and wigs and ruffles of the same old-fashioned times. The moral law is growing flexible with use, and parts of it are going out of date as the Blue Laws of Connecticutt have done.

See to it that it is not so with you. In any contest fair play is better than victory, and foul play on the part of the victor kills both him and his cause. What shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

> For "the day never comes, when it will do,
> To kick off "Duty, like a worn out shoe."—*Lowell.*

The fates show no favors toward the man that cheats. "If God should wink at a single act of injustice," says an Arab proverb, "the whole universe would shrivel up like an empty snake skin."

The people have the right to expect of the scholar, growth. One of the saddest of the occasional products of the college is the case of what is in science called arrested development.

When the student is transplanted from the hot-bed of the college, to the cold soil of the outside, his growth sometimes ceases, to the disappointment of his friends and the dismay of the supporters of Higher Education.

Without that perserverance which persists and thrives under adversity and discouragement, your attainments in college will avail you little. Never forget that what you have thus far done is not much. Your value is in the promise you give. The attainments of the most brilliant college student are not much for the man to rest his claims for remembrance on. The work of your lives is barely begun. You must continue to grow as you are now growing before you can serve the world in any important way.

It is not an easy thing to grow. Decay and decline is easier than growth—so the trees will tell you. Growth is slow and hard and wearisome. The Lobster suffers the pangs of death every time he outgrows and sheds his shell, but each succeeding coat of armor is thicker and stronger and more roomy. So with you. You will find it easier not to grow, pleasanter to adjust yourself to old circumstances and to let the moss grow on your back. The struggle for existence is hard; the struggle for improvement is harder, and some there are among you who sooner or later will cease struggling. When the roll of this class is called in 1896, those of you who stand where you stand now, those will be the ones in whom we shall be disappointed. Those will be the cases of arrested development; the men and women who promised well but who accomplished little; the men and women whose education did not bring development.

Be never satisfied with what you have accomplished, the deeds you can do, the thoughts you can think.

> "New occasions bring new duties, Time makes present good uncouth,
> They must upward still and onward, who would keep abreast of truth,
> So before us gleam her camp-fires, we ourselves must pilgrims be,
> Launch our Mayflower and steer boldly through the desperate Winter sea."
>
> —*Lowell.*

But best of all the scholars' privileges is that which Dr. Hale has called "Lending a hand." The scholar travels the road of life well equipped in all which can be helpful to others. He may not travel that road again, and what he does for his neighbor must be done where his neighbor is. The noblest lives have left their traces not only in literature or in history, but in the hearts of men.

Not long ago Professor Bryan said at Indianapolis: "Two summers ago, in a southern Indiana country neighborhood, I came upon the traces of a man. They were quite as distinct and satisfactory as a geologist could have wished for in the case of a vanished glacier. A good many years had passed away since the man was there, but the impression of his mind and character was still unmistakable. Long ago, when a boy of eighteen, with no special training and no extended education, this man went into that country neighborhood to teach. What he did, what he said, what methods or text-books he used, what books or journals he read, I do not know. But if you will go there to-day, you will find in that community, among all kinds and classes and conditions of people, the most satisfactory evidence that that boy-teacher was a man, honest, sincere, energetic, inspiring."

So I have found, as I have gone about over this state of ours, traces here and there which show where a man has lived.

In Franklin County, I have found noble remains of the life of Rufus Haymond. In Posey County, the lives of all the Owens. In Marion County I have found the life of Samuel Hoshour. In Floyd County, the life of John Sloan. In Cuyahoga County, Ohio, the life of Jared Kirtland. In Monroe County, we all know the life of Elisha Ballantine. And there are many more whom I might name in this connection, and some of these I see before me now.

In greater or less degree, as we come to know the inner history of some little town, we may find that from some past life, its sons and daughters have drawn their inspiration; we may find that once within its borders there lived a man.

Not all of you will leave your names as a legacy to Indiana's history. The alumni roll of your college may be some day the only list that remembers you, but if your influence for good shall live in the hearts of the youth around, your life-mission will be fulfilled and no man nor woman can do more than that.

"Write me as one who loves fellow men," said Ben Adhem to the recording angel, and "lo, Ben Adhem's name led all the rest." The world's redemption waits only for each man and woman to "lend a hand."

These are a few of the many duties before you in the world.

I have said nothing of your duties toward yourselves, your families, and your God. For these duties press equally on all men and women, learned and unlearned. They are the legacy of all manhood and womanhood, and, to-day, I have tried only to notice some few of those duties which rest most strongly on you as educated children of the State.

But we cannot feel too deeply that these duties of virtue and piety are the all important things in life. The soulless scholar is as useless now as when Paul declared, "Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels and have not charity, yet am I become but as the sounding brass and the tinkling cymbal."

And for the life of the most exalted as well as the humblest of men, there can be no nobler motto than that inscribed by the great scholar of the last century, over his home at Hammarby—"*Innocue vivito; numen adest.*" "Live blameless; God is near." For it is written that the pure in heart are blessed, for they shall see God!

A

PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE CORNELL UNIVERSITY[illegible]
ON FOUNDER'S DAY JANUARY 11TH 1888

BY

J. G. SCHURMAN
PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY

P2172

[illegible] would withdraw it above any party [illegible] in any state
—EZRA CORNELL.

ITHACA, N. Y.
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
1888

No. 11

A

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ON FOUNDER'S DAY, JANUARY 11TH, 1888

BY

J. G. SCHURMAN
PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY

"I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study."
—EZRA CORNELL.

ITHACA, N. Y.
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY
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A People's University.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen :

At the last commemoration of this honored day, it was our privilege to hear from one who had shared his friendship and his cares, an account of the later life and struggles of the founder of our University. The theme was well adapted to oratory, and Judge Finch's address was worthy of the occasion. His simple straightforwardness of manner, his skill in the grouping of facts, the insight and the sympathy with which he delineated his subject, and the literary finish with which he adorned it, all contributed to make his biographical sketch a model of natural and moving eloquence. In the course of the year that has since elapsed, much has been effaced from our memories, but I dare to assert they still retain, in undimmed clearness, that luminous and impressive portrait of Ezra Cornell. Who can ever forget that picture of our founder's life of sacred devotion to mankind, the self-regardless ministration and hazardous be-

nevolence he carried to the verge of desperate fortune? Who can ever forget the dauntless courage and the unquenchable hope with which he confronted the dire powers his own generosity had evoked? If we were not wont to put the age of gods and miracles behind us, forgetting that every human soul is divine, and every moment of time teems with marvels, we should see in that heroic spirit, in whose name we meet again to-day, a veritable wonder-working Prometheus. For this man, too, strongly dared and suffered, like one of more than mortal mould, in order that he might wrest from grudging destiny the arts, the sciences, and the culture which earlier generations deemed the gift of godlike benefactors, whom they worshipped as saviors of humanity.

It were sad, indeed, if the virtues and the heroic deeds of our illustrious dead were not worthily celebrated by the living. They are the altar-fires in the temple of humanity at which we warm our colder hearts and quicken the motion of our more sluggish spirits. Like the fires sacred to Vesta, they must be kept ever burning; for the moment of their extinction were the herald of our doom. In a world whose final end is good, no people can survive, no people deserves to survive, that does

not reverence the memory of its noblest sons, and cherish and emulate the sympathies and impulses by which their lives were inspired.

Yet I shall not, to-day, seek to stimulate myself or you to higher endeavor by holding up the mirror to our Promethean founder. Other hands have wreathed a garland for him, and we come too late to twine a single leaflet. Nor could words of ours add to the fragrance with which his memory is enshrined in the holiest of all temples—the hearts of grateful beneficiaries. I have thought, however, it might be a service not unacceptable to him, and not inappropriate to this occasion, if, turning with reverential silence from the shrine of the founder, we surveyed afresh the *foundations* on which he built this institution. At any rate, after much perplexity in the choice of a topic, it is on this I have decided to address you. Such abstract subjects are, I am well aware, not generally popular, even when they are not, as they too often are, positively unwelcome. And the reason is evident. Lying in the dry light of intellect, they never thrill the feelings, or fire the imagination, or charge the will with impetuous and consuming purpose. Nevertheless, the understanding has its own rights and claims. And it seems to me not unfitting that,

as we last year gave ourselves up to the pathos of our founder's struggles, we should on this anniversary calmly consider the ends for which he struggled, or the ideas which he strove to realize by means of this University.

It was a noble thought of Plato's that behind every common object of space and time lay an idea constitutive of its essence and significance. We are so busy with getting and spending that we can scarcely imagine the perfection of life to consist in communion with these everlasting grounds of things. Yet a greater than Plato has said, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. Our true vocation, therefore, is, not to nourish a blind, instinctive life like the animals, but to look before and after and to comprehend the grounds and principles of things. But it is a general infirmity of human nature to fall far short of this high calling. Creatures of habit, we take what comes to us without troubling ourselves to think much about it. We seem to assume the universe is there to be enjoyed, not to be understood. And while I would not exaggerate the particular distemperature of our own air and season, I think we must nevertheless admit that the neglect of ideas

and principles is the special fault, I had almost said the inevitable calamity, of an energetic, active, and successful people engrossed with the practical problems of a vast material civilization.

When we speak of Cornell University, how often does the name suggest to us more than its members, or its external features or accompaniments? We think, perhaps, of the students now grown to a body a thousand strong, and destined, at the present rate of increase, to become two thousand in the next half-dozen years. Or we think of the teaching staff, enlarging and changing so rapidly that no one knows his colleagues at the beginning of an academic session. To other minds Cornell University is the symbol of untold wealth, the object of endowments larger than those of any other university in the country, with the possible exception of Harvard. I need scarcely say, this is not a professorial picture. By sad and repeated experience, even the unpractical professor has discovered that poverty is a relative conception, being strictly the pressure of expenditure upon income, and that, therefore, it is as easy to have one's department in want, and to see one's darling schemes of instruction and research frustrated in a millionaire university as in a petty college sup-

ported by the weekly offerings of an impecunious constituency. At Cornell, as in many a smaller institution, there is abundant scope for the moral discipline that comes of reaching happiness rather through the suppression of wants than by the satisfaction of them. Yet, on the whole, I believe the professor has less ground for complaint here than in almost any other American university. And those for whom Cornell is synonymous with its material organization may point with much complacency to the numerous and commodious edifices; the well equipped laboratories, work-shops and barns; the large libraries; the appointments for instruction, recreation and devotion; the private residences and the public monuments with which our grounds are covered, and, in many cases, ornamented and embellished. Nor must I pass over another image which the name of Cornell University will always call up in souls that have once felt the beauty of its natural surroundings. As often as the name is uttered there will rise before them a picture of these romantic grounds, lying as a rich border on the brow of this undulating table-land, shut in like another paradise on the north and on the south by deep and precipitous ravines, that echo eternally with the multitudinous roar of their

water-falls, and faced towards the west by a noble and historic lake that stretches far as the eye can reach between high and sinuous banks, which, whether clad in the splendor of their unequalled flora, or delicately veiled, as now, in the virginal robes of winter, present such a scene of unwithering beauty as fascinates the insatiate eye, and

> "to the heart inspires
> Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
> All sadness but despair."

These are all aspects of Cornell University. And we do well to rejoice in the unmatched loveliness of our situation, the magnitude and variety of our material organization, and the rapidly increasing numbers of our students and professors. Yet these are not what I would call the idea of the university. And you must remember that Cornell is the exposition and embodiment of a conception never before realized in education. It is not a mechanical copy of any existing model. It is an individual organism, with a soul of its own. And this soul, this constitutive idea of the structure, we must now attempt to determine.

In order to bring the matter more clearly before you, I will ask you to glance hurriedly at the theories of education and the means of instruction that

have obtained in other ages and countries. Man must *live*, Aristotle has truly observed, before he can live *well.* Accordingly, the most primitive kind of education is that which is confined to training men to defend themselves and procure the natural means of subsistence. And the highest type of culture known to large portions of the human family is the combined perfection of the warrior and the hunter. These savage societies are, like everything else, subject to change; and in the struggle for existence there is a continuous promotion of the higher forms. And as primitive man worships the stone that has brought him luck, so he deifies the institutions that have insured his social existence. The cake of custom, as Bagehot calls it, once formed, cannot be broken. Thus we reach the changeless civilization of those Oriental countries where the ideal of education was to mould men to their foreordained place in the established order of things. They had not the faintest conception of the infinite worth of personality, as it has been stamped by Christianity upon the consciousness of the modern world. The individual was subordinated to an external authority, which shaped him like a potter's wheel.

In such a civilization education could not possibly consist in the harmonious development of all the natural powers of body and mind. Its aim in China was, by means of a severe and incredibly prolonged study of the national classics, merely to impress upon the students those traditional ideas, customs, and institutions in which the life of the people had become petrified, and which have been transmitted intact through at least sixty generations. Under a course of training that excluded science and mathematics, language, history, and geography, the powers of observation, imagination, and reasoning could scarcely escape atrophy. For this inharmonious development and the astounding ignorance that accompanied it, even in a mature graduate of four-score winters, there was nothing to atone but a prodigious memory and an ineradicable conservatism.

What national customs were to the Chinese, the usages of his caste were to the Hindoo. But Hindoo education comprised, in addition to instruction in ceremonial usages and morality, such elementary discipline as our children receive to-day, and an advanced curriculum extending over twelve years, intended primarily for the Brahmins. This extensive course included grammar and history,

poetry and philosophy, medicine and law, astronomy and mathematics,—to the last of which the Hindoos have made notable contributions.

In India only the lower caste was debarred altogether from mental training. In Persia none but the Magi, who were as learned as the Hindoo Brahmins, seem to have enjoyed it. Herodotus tells us that to speak the truth and to ride on horseback were the fundamental requirements of Persian education. And all that we know of it shows that, as in Sparta, only those moral and physical qualities were cultivated which the despotic ruler found useful for the conduct of war and the administration of government.

Passing from the Aryan to the Semitic race, we meet the Phœnicians, who invented our alphabet, and the Jews, who gave us our religion. I need not say that, without great progress in intellectual culture, the Jews could not have left us the priceless heritage of their literature. But in the present connection it is more important to observe that with them originated a new ideal of education, whose vital significance the lapse of time can never exhaust. While other systems aimed at forming effective citizens or members of a class, the Jewish teacher—and every father was a teacher—strove to

make his pupils faithful and obedient servants of the God of righteousness.

Moses, we are told, "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." And Egyptian civilization is, doubtless, the oldest in the world. It was a source of inspiration, both to Greeks and to Jews. The system of education concentrated all higher knowledge in the priestly class, as in India, though the other classes were not, as in Persia, left in entire ignorance. In science and culture the Egyptians were not surpassed by any oriental nations; in the mechanic arts they were far in advance of them, and their mechanical achievements were unique in antiquity.

It is still a debated point how far Greek civilization was modified by the Egyptian. That the hoary culture of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis had an irresistible fascination for the inquisitive and susceptible Ionian, we may still see from the delightful narrative of Herodotus; and there can be no doubt that the greatest lawgivers, and some of the greatest philosophers of Greece, Plato and Pythagoras, as well as Solon and Lycurgus, repaired for wisdom to the garnered stores of Egypt. But it is also certain that the Greek types of education were not exotics, but native growths rooted deeply

in the character and circumstances of the people. Sparta is inconceivable without its system of martial education. And Athens,

> "Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
> And eloquence, native to famous wits
> Or hospitable,"

—what spirit but hers could ever have brought to the birth that ideal of æsthetic education, named from the noblest words in the language, καλοκἀγαθία, and expressing the harmonious beauty of soul and body for which the national life was one continuous, intense, and gloriously triumphant aspiration. Beauty of body was cultivated by gymnastics, beauty of soul by music. Music and gymnastics were, therefore, principal factors in Athenian education. But mental culture also included the study of grammar, poetry, rhetoric, mathematics, and philosophy. In comparison with the beautiful, the useful was contemned, and even the moral was but inadequately recognized. Within its own limits, however, Greek training produced a manhood that has challenged the admiration of the world; and in the calm marble figures their inimitable art has left us, each generation still finds with ecstasy the realization of its highest type of beauty.

The Roman was hard, practical, utilitarian. His mission in the world was to conquer, to enact justice, and to administer laws. He had little time to spend on a liberal education, and of the humanities, history was to him the most important. At fifteen he donned the *toga virilis* and made choice of his profession. In the acquisition of it, practice counted for more than theory. Agriculture he learned by farming; the art of war in battle; politics in the forum; law in the courts; oratory in the senate. In the science and art of education, therefore, the Romans have done little for the world, though in other spheres their influence has been profound, pervasive, and inexhaustible.

In the thousand years that followed the fall of the Roman empire, the problem of life was to prepare for death. Man, as an heir of glory, became estranged to his earthly heritage, and disesteemed its uses and its beauty. Instead of the joyous worldliness of the Greeks, there prevailed what George Eliot has branded "other-worldliness," but what I should prefer to designate an absorbing sense of the supernatural and eternal. Men turned away from nature and disregarded the natural life of man. The system of education corresponded with the ideal of life; and, speaking generally, the

only faculties developed were the religious faculties, the only knowledge cultivated was religious knowledge. Before the period closed, however, Aristotle was dragged into the service of the church, and henceforth the intellectual culture of the Greeks and Romans, in such measure as successive generations were capable of interpreting it, went hand in hand with Christian theology in the education of mankind. And, with many modifications, rendered necessary by the growth of the natural sciences and the expansion of other disciplines, this combination has furnished the framework of most of the education that has prevailed up to the present day.

I am not, ladies and gentlemen, of those who are so bedazzled with the enlightenment of the nineteenth century that they cannot discern the lights along the times of old that were before us. And I have no sympathy with the superior wisdom that jauntily flings aside customs and institutions handed down to us with the accumulated sanctions of many generations of our fellow men. Not that I adore pachydermatous immobility. But I hold there is a more excellent way than either inane radicalism or blind conservatism. And that is the recognition that, while every system is valid for its

age and generation, none is so absolutely complete as to suit other times and circumstances without change, or even without remodelling. What we have to do, therefore, is not to break with the past, but to consider how its institutions may be modified to adapt themselves to the requirements of the present. And this method of procedure is equally advisable in dealing with education as in dealing with law, or politics, or religion.

In order to find an educational ideal for our age, it will be necessary first of all to determine its characteristics, its essential difference from those preceding periods which we have all too briefly mentioned. Now, this is no easy task, for the course of history, as I need not remind this audience, is not intersected by clear dividing-lines. The world's events form a seamless garment. There are, however, differences of shade and color. And, I venture to think, the last three or four centuries have received their tone from that unparalleled movement of the human mind, which we ordinarily call the Reformation. It was, without doubt, primarily a religious movement; but we ignore its many-sidedness when we overlook its influence on politics and on general culture. It was a universal revolt against convention, and a retnrn

to the everlasting sources of things. There was to be an end of tradition and hearsay. God, nature, and man were to be considered as they are in themselves, and not as report vainly gave them out to be.

I need not tell you how our views of nature have since then changed. And though it would be interesting to trace the development of theology since this new departure, it would lead us too far from our subject. I can only observe that, with the downfall of the principle of established churches, has come the fulfillment of our Lord's prophecy of absolute individualism in religion: "Neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem." But what it especially concerns me now to emphasize is that the spirit of the reformation has leavened the modern view of man. The teaching that effected such changes was not new. Greek Stoics and Roman jurists alike recognized the brotherhood of men. And the Divine Teacher whom the Reformers followed had solemnly proclaimed the infinite worth of the human soul. What is new in the modern period is the practical acceptance of this doctrine with all its consequences. Do not misunderstand me. I am not maintaining the milennium is here, neither in Washington nor in Paris. I am assert-

ing that the characteristic of the modern world is its deeper consciousness of the truth that all men are free, equal, and inviolable; and that this was the moving spirit of recent history, as we have its quintessence in the American and in the French Revolution. But I do not forget that, while conduct has been nearer this theory than ever before in the history of the world, it still lagged so far behind that, though the Constitution of the United States is now in its second century, the generation is still in the prime of life that first saw its noble principles universally applied to practice. Nevertheless, I adhere to my contention that the main distinguishing feature of our age is its living conviction of the unspeakable worth and liberty of every human person.

This has been the organizing idea of modern political and ecclesiastical institutions. And, though great advance has been made in Europe, especially in England, the fullest development of the principle has been attained on this North American continent. Here, and here alone, has been completely embodied, both in state and church, the idea of the liberty, equality, and fraternity of men.

We have a people's government and a people's

church. Have we a people's university? If so, how is it constituted?

After what I have just said, we shall not find it difficult to answer this question. If the modern university is to reflect the spirit of the age, it must, like the modern state, recognize no distinctions of class or caste. Every human being will come before it with the same infinite and inviolable personality. All will have the same claims upon it. *Universality*, therefore, is the first mark of such a university. There is no class, or no individual, to whom its doors are not open. And this is what distinguishes it from the educational institutions of all former ages. They were intended for certain select portions of the people; the majority were excluded from them. Take the most brilliant of these ancient systems, the Athenian. It excluded slaves, who formed four-fifths of the population of Attica; it excluded women, half the remaining one-fifth; and of the small residue, the larger portion were practically excluded by the heavy cost entailed. *Exclusiveness* was the badge of ancient education. The modern university must know no limits but humanity.

But the most significant characteristic has yet to be mentioned. If nothing were required in a peo-

ple's university but open doors to all, then examples of it might be found, though not in the ancient world, in every civilized country of modern times. But there is another requisite, and a very important one. The curriculum must be as varied as the wants of the people. And of how many of the great universities of the world, can this, I would ask, be claimed? They care for theology, for law, for medicine, for the humanities, and, to some extent, for the sciences of nature. But though it has been so assumed for some hundreds of years, I venture to assert that mankind is not constituted by the minister, the lawyer, the doctor, and the master of arts, not even if you throw in a new-fangled bachelor of science. Here is the point at which the inherited ideal of education needs modification. It was excellent for an age that knew of a scientific basis for the professions of the classes, but of none for the occupations of the masses. But the day of the people has at last arrived. A revolution has taken place in the character of their employments. The introduction of machinery has developed upon nature what was formerly left to the uneducated and almost instinctive activity of the multitude. But to avail ourselves of the powers of nature, we must know her operations and her laws. Conse-

quently the industrial pursuits of the present day are as much dependent upon scientific knowledge as medicine or law. Of course, not every manual laborer needs or can have this knowledge. One may attend to a machine without understanding the principles of its construction or operation. And there still remain many varieties of work to which machinery has not been applied. Nevertheless, it is, broadly speaking, true that the industries of the people have, in these modern times, been organized upon a new basis. Man has enlisted in his service the powers of nature. And if, since the foundation of Salerno, universities have been dedicated to the investigation of nature, with a view to providing a remedy for human diseases, they now assuredly need a fuller consecration to the same service for the additional purpose of rendering more available to our helpless race those natural powers and operations by which the works of man are effected and the life of man sustained.

The fact is, we do not discern the signs of the times, or, as evolutionists say, we are not adjusted to our environment. I sometimes think we never do get adjusted until it is too late; until the environment has changed, or we are on the eve of quitting it. At any rate, we are slow to adapt our

selves to new conditions, and slower still to recognize that the conditions are new. They change so gradually and imperceptibly, that as Darwin says of geological formations, they are not noticed till the slow hand of time has marked the close of one epoch and the opening of another. We are in the full stream of modern tendencies; and yet our university ideals belong, for the most part, to a period anterior to the inventions of printing, gunpowder, the mariner's compass, and the telescope, and to the vast geographical and astronomical discoveries, which, with those inventions, form the beginnings of our modern civilization. The divorce between the universities and the activities of life is astounding. Who would ever suspect, from examination of a university curriculum, that man's dominion over nature was, after his own freedom, the greatest gain and the most characteristic feature of our age? Yet, in truth, it is with us that the kingdom of man has come. The poetic vision of Shakespeare, the prophetic aspiration of Bacon, first attain in this age their realization; yet in how many universities in which the *Tempest* and the *Novum Organum* are read, do you find any recognition of those potent arts whose magic they celebrate?

To be perfectly open, we are, in spite of our pro-

fessed democracy, still aristocratic in university matters. We think there are some subjects too common for university instruction. But a people's university, if it is true to the spirit of our age, must hold all subjects equally reputable, and provide instruction in all alike. Least of all can it afford to omit those industrial arts which lie at the foundation of our modern life. But with them it must include every interest of the people which admits of scientific treatment. The masses and the classes must both be represented. Or, rather, such a university can recognize no such distinction, for the objects of every occupation must be esteemed equally significant. The analysis of soils is as important as the analysis of literature. The steam engine is as sacred as Greek. Philosophy is not more venerable than road-making. A house is as rational as the geometry it embodies. We must no longer dream that the little section of knowledge we cultivate is the holy of holies. Every atom of the universe is equally worthy of regard.

> All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
> Whose body nature is, and God the soul.

The spirit which sets up distinctions is that which of old separated the Greeks from the Barbarians and the Jews from the Gentiles. Would

to heaven we might once more see the sky open, and a great sheet let down to earth, with all manner of things therein, and hear again the voice speaking a second time, and saying: "What God hath cleansed, that call thou not common." In God's universe there is nothing common or unclean, and whatever is known about it must have a place in the curriculum of a people's university.

Here, then, are two characteristics of a people's university. In contradistinction to the ideal of the ancient world—of India, Egypt, Greece, etc.—it proclaims that every person has the same right to knowledge. And, in opposition to the general practice of the modern world, it proclaims the equal worth of every subject of study. The first of these propositions, no American, at least, will call in question. The second I consider equally true. But in case the considerations already adduced do not carry to your minds the evidence and the convincing force I claim for them, it may be well to show that the second proposition is a necessary consequence of the first. For when you have once granted the inviolable rights of every human person, you cannot take the needs of one soul as norm for another. The curiosity of one mind may direct itself upon languages, of another upon machinery. But if Sanskrit finds one man, sets him thinking, and

develops his powers, and opens to him a storehouse of information, and if the steam engine does the same for another man, and brings him a livelihood as well, it is mere priggishness to call the one man educated and the other uneducated. The only reason of our doing so is that we are the slaves of a system of education which, though admirable for its day, is not comprehensive enough for the new conditions of this latest age of the world's progress. We profess to accept the modern principle of individualism, but in our educational theories we are still bound to oligarchy, if not to despotism. Here, however, the people are wiser than their official spokesmen. The practical sense of the community has long since recognized that a man may be as truly educated in business or in the workshop as in the laboratory or the seminary. And the people's university must rest upon this indubitable insight. Its curriculum must embrace the inventions of our own day, the sciences of the moderns, the learning of the ancients,—in a word, everything capable of theoretic consideration; everything in which the mind of man is rationally interested. Such a universal programme would also have a fine moral influence. Instead of puffing us up with conceit, and leading us to disparage those who have not taken our particular course, it would be a perpetual

reminder of the limits of our attainments and of the variety of human interests, and it could scarcely fail to deepen our idea of that Infinite Mind in whom are contained all those treasures of wisdom and knowledge which man strives to apprehend in broken and disconnected fragments.

Hegel was charged with constructing a political philosophy for the express purpose of justifying the constitution of Prussia. And it may be suspected that in my *a priori* deduction of a people's university, I had my eye on Cornell. Now I will say that Cornell is the only institution which, so far as I know, has attempted to embody the principles here laid down in the constitution of a university. But I must protest I have reached these principles by independent reasoning. And I willingly leave it with you to determine how far the arguments are valid by which I have sought to deduce the constitution of an ideal university from the general spirit of our age, and the particular conditions of our modern life and culture.

Our problem is now solved. We set out to determine the constitutive idea of this University. We seemed to digress into a discussion of a people's university. But we have found the two are the same. When Ezra Cornell (who, by the way, was a man of the people), said he would found an

institution where any person could find instruction in any subject, his intention was to establish a university of the people,—a university demanded by the democratic ideas of modern times, yet a university so broad that, while it is just to the present, it ignores nothing of the past, and is capable of expanding to the requirements of all that the future has in store for our race.

Will you allow me to add a few observations before relaxing the attention with which you have honored me? There are certain peculiar features and dangers necessarily inherent in a people's university, which I should like to mention, with special reference to Cornell. The first is, that it is enormously expensive. It takes several millions of dollars to maintain our present organization. And did Cornell completely realize its ideal, I know not what additional millions would be required to provide for all the subjects of human knowledge and practice yet unrepresented in our curriculum. Even our inadequate approach to this ideal involves a fast increasing outlay, which taxes all our resources. But, besides the cost of equipment, Cornell makes heavy sacrifices, which only the few know of, to bring its facilities within the reach of all the people. Our fees are only from one-half to two-thirds of what is ordinarily exacted at other

institutions of the same, or even of inferior rank. We offer free instruction to over five hundred students from the State of New York. And if other students are too poor to pay their tuition fees, we take their promises to pay, and give them an education. Now, with our present resources, this beneficence on the part of the university is necessarily limited. But the outlook is not disheartening. No other institution in the world can appeal to the people with the same confidence of support. We are working for the people, for every class and profession; and the wealth of the country cannot pass us by. If our students are practicing the utmost economy,—and some of them board and lodge for $1.40 per week; and if our trustees find that, with the best investments, our resources are not adequate to the work we have to do,—and such is now the case,—I have the fullest confidence that the sense of the monied men of the country will not be deaf to our appeal when we say: "Come to our help, and as you would do good to your fellowmen, aid us in multiplying means for their instruction; aid us, by founding scholarships for needy students, to bring it within the reach of all. Here is a cure for anarchy, and baneful strife between classes of the people. Help us, in God's name, to fit every

one who will come to us, to do his work in life in the best manner known to our age."

My second remark is that institutions so general in their scope are especially liable to be misunderstood. People with hobbies will complain that they are neglected. Thus Cornell has been accused of neglecting the so-called liberal arts, in her devotion to the mechanic arts. But the fact is, as we all know, Cornell stands up for all subjects alike. And it has steadily aimed, and at an enormous outlay, to make its departments of literature, language, philosophy, science, and the like, second to none in the country. And the recent unusual increase of students in these subjects shows that at last our efforts have been appreciated. From the same illiberal spirit that has declared us without culture, because we endeavored to supply *all* the means of culture, our university was formerly branded as godless, apparently because its ideal was to study *all* the works of God. Possibly something was due to that clause in the charter which makes Cornell forever undenominational. But time and a mutual understanding have shown that a secular university is not irreligious, because it is not sectarian. And I should, at the present time, not be surprised to see the larger denominations availing themselves of our educational facilities by

the establishment of theological halls and houses of residence in the immediate vicinity of the campus, as they have done with such excellent results in connection with McGill University, Montreal, with the University of Toronto, with the University of Michigan, and, on the opposite side of the globe, with the fine University of Melbourne. At any rate, we cannot but rejoice that at the present day, the work and spirit of Cornell are so rightly appreciated among all classes of our population.

One remark more and I have done. In another year Cornell University will have come of age, and I trust the event will be worthily celebrated. It will then fall to the historian—and no one can write that history but the distinguished first President, who so largely made it—to trace the development of your *alma mater* through all the varied phases of her glorious adolescence. There may be disappointments and failures to chronicle, for

> . . . a man's reach should exceed his grasp,
> Or what's a heaven for?

Yet these shortcomings apart, and they are common to every history, it will be a record of such wonderful growth, such many-sided and brilliant achievement as has no parallel, I believe, in the educational annals of our race. This retrospect will not fail to stimulate hope and engender extravagant expectations of the future. And it will be

altogether fitting on that occasion that you give yourselves up to the enthusiasm which the picture is calculated to strike into the coldest heart. That will be a time to feel confidence and to exult in it, not to analyze its grounds. Good grounds, however, there are; and, under other circumstances, it were desirable you should cast about for them. But that the ecstasy of that high hour may not be sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, let me here anticipate, and, on a Founder's Day, devoted to more sober inquiries, assure you that the unparalleled prosperity of our University has been owing to the character of its constitutive idea, to that principle of universality and equality which it is the undying fame of Ezra Cornell to have conceived, and here first applied to education almost at the very time the nation was receiving a fresh consecration to it from the priestly lips of Lincoln, on the hallowed field of Gettysburg; and let me further tell you (and these are the last words by which I would seek to attune you to that coming celebration) that our confidence in the future of Cornell University is due to an ineradicable conviction, attested by the whole drift and spirit of the modern world, that, under God, education "of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

THE VALUE

OF

HIGHER EDUCATION

AS AFFECTED

TO YOUNG PEOPLE.

No. 12

THE VALUE

OF

HIGHER EDUCATION

AN ADDRESS

TO YOUNG PEOPLE,

BY

DAVID STARR JORDAN,

PRESIDENT OF INDIANA UNIVERSITY.

RICHMOND, IND.,
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THE VALUE OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

What I have to say, to-night, is addressed to young men and young women. It is a plea, as strong as I know how to make it, for higher education, for more thorough preparation for the duties of life. I know those well to whom I wish to speak. And to such as these, with the life and duties in the busy world before you, the best advice that I or any one else can give you is this, "Go to College."

And you may say: "These four years are among the best in my life. The good your college does must be great, if I should spend this time and money in securing it. What will your college do for me?"

It may do many things for you if you are made of the right stuff, or it may do little or nothing, for you cannot fasten a $2,000 education to a fifty-cent boy. The fool, the dude and the shirk come out of college pretty much as they go in. They dive deep in the Pierian springs, as the duck dives in the pond, and they come up as dry as the duck does. The college will not do everything for you. It will not of itself do anything for you. It is simply one of the helps by which you can win your way to a noble manhood or womanhood. Whatever you are, you must make of yourself, but a well-spent college-life is one of the greatest helps to all good things.

So if you learn to use it rightly, this the college can do for you. It will bring you in contact with the great minds of the past, the long roll of those, who through the ages have borne a mission to young men and young women, from Plato to Emerson, from Homer and Euripides to Schiller and Browning. Your thoughts will be limited, not by the narrow gossip of to-day, but the great men of all ages and all climes will become your brothers. You will learn to feel what the Greeks called the Consolations of Philosophy. To turn from the petty troubles of the day to the thoughts of the Masters, is to go from the noise of the rabble through the door of a cathedral. The whole of your life must be spent in your own company, and only the educated man is good company for himself.

The College can bring you face to face with the great problems of nature. You will learn from your study of Nature's laws, more than the

books can tell you of the grandeur, the power, the omnipotence of God. You will learn to face great problems seriously. You will learn to work patiently at their solution, though you know that many generations must each add its mite to your work before any answer can be reached.

Your College Course will bring you into contact with men whose influences strengthen and inspire. The ideal College Professor should be the best man in the community. He should have about him nothing mean, or paltry or cheap. He should be to the student as David Copperfield's Agnes, "always pointing the way upwards."

That we are all this, I shall not pretend. Most College Professors whom I know are extremely human. We have been soured and starved and dwarfed in many ways, and many of us are not the men we might have been if we had had your chances for early education. But unpractical, pedantic, fossilized, though the average College Professor may be, his heart is in the right place; he is not mercenary, and his ideals are those of culture and progress. We are keeping the torch burning, which you, young men of the Twentieth Century, may carry to the top of the mountain!

But here and there among us is the Ideal Teacher, the teacher of the future, the teacher to have known whom is of itself a liberal education. I have met some such in my day. Louis Agassiz, Charles Frederic Hartt, Asa Gray, George William Curtis, Daniel Kirkwood, among others, and there are many more such in our land. It is worth ten years of your life to know well one such man as these. Garfield once said that a log with Mark Hopkins at one end of it and himself at the other, would be a University. In whatever college you go, poor and feeble though the institution be, you will find some man who in some degree will be to you what Mark Hopkins was to Garfield, and to know him will repay you for all your sacrifices. It was said of Dr. Nott of Union College, that he "took the sweepings of other colleges and sent them back to Society pure gold." Such was his influence on young men.

Moreover, the training which comes from association with one's fellow-students cannot be over-estimated. Here and there, it is true, some young invertebrate, over-burdened with money or spoiled by home-coddling, falls into bad company and leaves college in worse condition than when he entered it. These are the windfalls of education. However much we may regret them, we cannot prevent their existence. But they are few among the great majority. Most of our apples are not worm-eaten at the core. The average student enters College for a purpose, and you will lose nothing, but may gain much from association with

him. Among our College students are the best young men of the time. They help mould each other's character and shape each other's work. Many a College man will tell you that above all else which the College gave, he values the friendships which he formed in school. In the German Universities, the "fellow-feeling among free spirits" ("Gemeingeist unter freien Geistern") is held to be one of the most important elements in their grand system of Higher Education.

In his eulogy on his great patron, Humboldt, Agassiz tells us a little of his life as a student in the University of Munich.

"Almost all of our professors," he says, "were also eminent in some department of science or literature. They were not men who taught from text-books, or even read lectures made up from extracts from original works. They were themselves original investigators, daily contributing to the sum of human knowledge. And they were not only our teachers, but our friends. The best spirit prevailed among the professors and students. We were often the companions of their walks, often present at their discussions, and when we met for conversation or to give lectures among ourselves, as we constantly did, our professors were often among our listeners, cheering us and stimulating us in all our efforts after independent research. My room was our meeting place. Bed-room, study, museum, library, lecture-room, fencing-room all in one. Students and professors used to call it 'The Little Academy.'

"There Schimpfer and Braun for the first time discussed their newly-discovered laws of Phyllotaxy, that marvelous rhythmical arrangement of the leaves of plants. Here Michahelles first gave us the story of his explorations of the Adriatic. Here Born exhibited his wonderful preparations of the anatomy of the Lamprey-eel. Here Rudolphi told us of his explorations of the Bavarian Alps and the Baltic. These, my fellow-students at Munich were a bright, promising set, boys then in years, not all of whom lived to make their names famous in the annals of Science.

"It was in our Little Academy that Dr. Döllinger himself showed to us, his students, before he had given them to the scientific world, his preparations of the villi of the Alimentary Canal. He taught us first to use the microscope to trace the development of animals. Here too once came Meckel, the great anatomist, to see my fish-skeletons, of which he had heard from Döllinger."

Thus it was in Munich, sixty years ago, and the influence of that little band of students is still felt in the world of science. And a similar influence has been exerted in various ways by similar associations of students in other departments of thought.

We are told that Methodism first arose in a little circle of college students, interested in the realities of religion, hidden amid ceremonies and forms.

At Williams College in Massachusetts, stands a monument that marks the spot where a haystack once stood. Under this haystack, three college students knelt and promised each other to devote their lives to the preaching of the Gospel of Christ among the heathen. Thus was founded the first foreign mission in America.

In my own field of work, I have had this experience. Twenty years ago, I entered a newly-founded State University as a member of its first Freshman class. I wanted to be a naturalist, and I was the first student who had come there with that ambition. A special feature in the work of the Cornell University was to be the promotion of science, and for that reason young naturalists came from all over the land to make use of its opportunities.

We formed a little association, something like the Little Academy at Munich, in a small way, and in this we trained each other. Each told the others what he had seen, and of how he had tried to see it. Many elements went to form our scientific training, but our mutual influence was not the least of these. Nor has that influence yet faded away.

I look over the list of the Cornell Alumni, and I find that each of these young men, boys of sixteen years ago, is himself now the centre of a similar circle of young men. Many of them are well known in the fields of science. Comstock, Dudley, Gage and Nichols, Professors at Cornell; Trelease in the University of Wisconsin; Theodore Comstock in the University of Illinois; Patrick and Kellerman and Nichols in the Universities of Kansas; Lazenby in the University of Ohio; Simonds in Arkansas; Holmes in the University of North Carolina; Rathbun in the Smithsonian Institution, Hitchcock, Salmon, Barnard in other scientific bureaus in Washington; Brayton in the Indianapolis High School; Derby and Branner in the Geological Survey of Brazil, Branner now in the University of Indiana; Cushing among the Zuñi Indians, a Zuñi chief himself, thus worming out the secrets of their ancient civilization; Copeland, brightest of all, who first studied with me the birds and fishes of Indiana, and who died untimely before the world had come to know him.

All of them, fifteen years ago, used to gather in a little room in Ithaca, to show each other the flowers and birds and rocks which they had studied, and to discuss together the problems of life, "those problems of the ages which are always inviting solution and which are never solved."

Each of us owes much to the College, its libraries, its laboratories, its professors, but something of the powers of each, as teacher or as student, has been given by each of the others.

Many a great genius has risen and developed in solitude, as the Trailing Arbutus grows in the woods and scorns cultivation. Poets sing, because their souls are full of music, not because they have learned the gamut of passions in the schools. But all great work, in Science, in Philosophy, in the Humanities, has come from entering into the work of others.

There was once a Chinese Emperor who decreed that he was to be the First, that all History was to begin with him, and that nothing should be before him. But we cannot enforce such a decree. We are not emperors of China. The world's work, and the world's experience does not begin with us. We must know what has been done before us. We must know the paths our predecessors have trodden, if we would tread them further. We must stand upon their shoulders, dwarfs upon the shoulders of the giants, if we would look further into the future than they. Science, Philosophy, Statesmanship, cannot for a moment let go of the Past.

Abraham Lincoln grew up in poverty and without the aid of schools in the woods of Spencer County, Indiana, and our days have seen no greater man than he. But is this a reason, why you, who are not a Lincoln, for God makes but one such in a century, should spend your own youth in ignorance or idleness? Lincoln grew in spite of his surroundings, for, after all, the mind is master. He used wisely and firmly all the few chances for culture which he had. Can you doubt, that if your advantages had been his, that he would have made the most of them? As has been well said, "the road to culture leads to-day by the hearthstone of every home." The Lincolns of the future are now working for an educationsuch as our State freely offers to all her children as a stepping-stone toward broader outlooks and higher usefulness.

The College intensifies the individuality of a man. It takes his best abilities and raises him to the second or third power, as we say in Algebra. It is true enough, that Colleges have tried, and some of them still try to enforce uniformity in study; to cast all students in the same mould. Colleges have been conservative, old-fogyish, if you please. Musty old men in the dust of libraries have tried to make young men dry and dreary like themselves. Colleges have placed readiness above thoroughness, memory above mastery, glibness above sincerity, uniformity above originality, and the dialectics of the dead past above the work of the liv-

ing present. The sceptre of the Roman Emperor has crumbled into dust, but the "rod of the Roman Schoolmaster is over us still."

But say what you will of old methods; they often attained great ends. Colleges have aimed at uniformity. They did not secure it. The individuality of the student bursts through the cast-iron curriculum,

"The man's the man for a' that,"

and any man is so much more the man Nature meant him to be, because his mind is trained.

The educated man has the courage of his convictions, because only he has any real convictions. He knows how convictions should be formed. What he believes he takes on his own evidence, not because it is in the creed of his Church or the platform of his party. So he counts as a unit in his community, not as part of a dozen or a hundred, whose opinions are formed by their town's place on the map, or who train under the party flag because their grandfathers did the same. "To see things as they really are," is one of the crowning privileges of the educated man, and to help others to see them so, is one of the greatest services he can render to the community.

But you may say, "All this may be fine and true, but it does not apply to my case. I am no genius; I shall never be a scholar; I want simply to get along. Give me education enough to teach a district school, so as not to have to work out of doors in the winter, and I am satisfied. Any kind of school will be good enough for that."

"The youth gets together his materials," says Thoreau, "to build a bridge to the moon, or perchance a palace or temple on the earth, and, at length, the middle-aged man concludes to build a woodshed with them."

Now why not plan for a woodshed at first, and save this waste of time and materials?

But the gathering of these materials will strengthen the youth. It may be the means of saving him from idleness, from vice. So long as you are at work on your bridge to the moon, you will shun the saloon, and we shall not see you on the dry-goods box in front of the corner-grocery. I know many a man who in early life planned only to build a woodshed, but who found later that he had the strength to build a temple, if he only had the materials. Many a man the world calls successful would give all life has brought him could he make up for the disadvantages of his lack of early training.

It does not hurt a young man to be ambitious in some honorable direction. In the pure-minded youth, Ambition is the sum of all the virtues. Lack of ambition means failure from the start.

The traveller Rafinesque tells us that when he was a boy, he read the voyages of Captain Cook and Pallas and Le Vaillant, and his soul was fired with the desire to be a great traveller like them. "And so I became such," he adds shortly.

If you say to yourself, I will be a naturalist, a traveller, a historian, a statesman, a scholar; if you never unsay it; if you bend all your powers in that direction, and take advantage of all those aids that help toward your ends, and reject all that do not, you will sometime reach your goal. The world turns aside to let any man pass who knows whither he is going!

"Why should we call ourselves men," said Mirabeau, "unless it be to succeed in everything, everywhere. Say of nothing—This is beneath me, nor feel that anything is beyond your power. Nothing is impossible to the man who can will!"

"But a College Education costs money," you may say. "I have no money, therefore I cannot go to College."

This is nonsense. If you have health and strength and no one dependent on you, you cannot be poor. There is, in this country, no greater good luck that a young man can have than to be thrown on his own resources. The cards are stocked against the rich man's son. Of the many college men who have risen to prominence in my day, very few of them did not lack for money in College. I remember a little boarding-club of the students at Cornell, very appropriately called the "Struggle for Existence," which has graduated more bright minds than any other single organization in my Alma Mater.

The young men who have fought their way, have earned their own money and know what a dollar costs, have the advantage of the rich. They enter the world outside with no luxurious habits, with no taste for idleness. It is not worth while to be born with a silver spoon in your mouth, when a little effort will secure you a gold one.

The time, the money that the unambitious young man wastes in trifling pursuits or in absolute idleness, will suffice to give the ambitious man his education. The rich man's son may enter College with better preparation than you. He may wear better clothes. He may graduate younger, but the poor man's son can make up for lost time by greater energy and by the greater clearness of his grit. He steps from the Commencement stage into no unknown world. He has already measured swords with the great antagonist, and the first victory is his. It is the first struggle that counts.

But it is not Poverty that helps a man. There is no virtue in poor food or shabby clothing. It is the effort by which he throws off the yoke

of poverty that enlarges the powers. It is not hard work, but work to a purpose that frees the soul. If the poor man lie down in the furrow and say:

"I won't try. I shall never amount to anything. I am too poor, and if I wait to earn money, I shall be too old to go to school." If you do this, I say, you won't amount to anything, and later in life you will be glad to spade the rich man's garden and to shovel his coal at a dollar a day.

I have heard of a poor man who earns a half-dollar every day by driving a cow to pasture. He watches her all day as she eats, and then drives her home at night. This is all he does. Put here your half-dollar and there your man. The one balances the other, and the one enriches the world as much as the other. If it were not for the cow, the world would not need that man at all!

A young man can have no nobler ancestry than one made up of men and women who have worked for a living and who have given honest work. The instinct of industry lives in the blood. Naturalists tell us that the habits of one generation are inherited by the next, reappearing as instincts. It is easy to inherit laziness, and no money or luck will place a lazy man on the level of his industrious neighbor. The industry engendered by the pioneer life of the last generation is still in our vein. Sons of the Hoosier pioneers, ours is the best blood in the realm. Let us make the most of ourselves. If you cannot get an education in four years, take ten years. It is worth your while. Your place in the world will wait for you till you are ready to fill it.

Do not say that I am expecting too much of the effects of a firm resolution; that I give you advice which will lead you to failure. For the man who will fail will never make a resolution. Those among you whom Fate has cut out for nobodies, are the ones who will never try!

I said, just now, that you cannot put a $2,000 education on a fifty-cent boy. This has been tried again and again, and it fails every time. What of that? It does not hurt to try. A few hundred dollars is not much to spend on such an experiment.

But what shall we say of a man who puts a fifty-cent education on a ten thousand-dollar boy, and narrows and cramps him throughout his after life? And just this is what ten thousand parents in Indiana to-day are doing for their sons and daughters. Twenty years hence, ten thousand men and women of Indiana will blame them for their shortness of sight and narrowness of judgment; in weighing a few paltry dollars soon earned, soon lost, against the power which comes from mental training.

"For a man to have died who might have been wise and was not, this," says Carlyle, "this I call a tragedy."

Another thing which should never be forgotten is this: A College Education is not a scheme to enable a man to live without work. Its purpose is to help him to work to advantage—to make every stroke count. I have heard a father say sometimes, "I have worked hard all my life. I will give my boy an education so that he will not have to drudge as I have had to do." And the boy going out into the world does not work as his father did. The result every time is disappointment, for the manhood which the son attains depends directly on his own hard work. But if the father say, "My son shall be a worker too, but I will give him an education, so that his hard work may count for more to himself and to the world than my work has done for me," then if the son be as persistent as his father, the results of his work may be far beyond the expectations of either.

The boys who are *sent* to College, often do not amount to much. From the boys who *go* to College come the leaders of the future! Frederic Denison Maurice tells us that "All experience is against the notion that the means to produce a supply of good ordinary men is to attempt nothing higher. I know that nine-tenths of those the University sends out must be hewers of wood and drawers of water, but if I train the ten-tenths to be such, then the wood will be badly cut, and the water will be spilt. Aim at something noble. Make your system of Education such that a great man may be formed by it and there will be a manhood in your little men of which you do not dream!"

"You will hear every day around you," says Emerson, "the maxims of a low prudence. You will hear that your first duty is to get land and money, place and name. What is this Truth, you seek? What is this Beauty? Men will ask in derision. If, nevertheless, God have called any of you to explore Truth and Beauty, be bold, be firm, be true! When you shall say, 'as others do, so will I. I renounce, I am sorry for it, my early visions. I must eat the good of the land and let learning and romantic expectations go, until a more convenient season.' Then dies the man in you. Then once more perish the buds of Art and Poetry and Science, as they have died already in a hundred thousand men. The hour of that choice is the crisis of your destiny."

But you may ask me this question: Will a College Education pay, considered solely as a financial investment?

Again I must answer yes, but the scholar is seldom disposed to look upon his power as a "financial investment." He can do better than to

get rich. The scholar will feel, as Agassiz said to the Boston publisher, "I have no time, sir, to make money!"

I do not wish to belittle any honest work that leads to wealth or prosperity. Other things being equal, it is every man's duty to be prosperous. The world owes no man a living and he who would live in the world must do something for which the world is willing to pay. But wealth is no gauge of usefulness in life. You cannot measure a man's success by the amount of the taxes he pays. Any one of our great railroad gamblers gains or loses more money in a month than any scholar in Christendom can earn in a lifetime. Tested by your standards, are the lives of Jay Gould, Daniel Drew and the Vanderbilts successful lives? If you so measure them, it is not to you I speak.

But let us take a lower plane if you please. In the work of the rank and file of life, it is true that the educated man gets the best salaries. Brain work is higher than hand work, and it is worth more in any market and it always will be so. In every field from base-ball to statesmanship it is always science that wins the game. No protective tariff, no interference of law can raise the wages of the unskilled laborer to the level of those of his trained competitor. The man with the mind is the boss, and the boss receives a larger salary than the hands whose work he directs.

It is everywhere the same in our country. Among our doctors, our lawyers, our preachers, our teachers, our civil engineers, our editors, our politicians even, it is the College men who take the lead.

Some statistics have been lately published, concerning this matter in its practical aspect. On an average, it is said, about five in every thousand men are college graduates. But in every thousand important positions, in the State, in the schools, in the Church, 580 are held by College men. Thus, while not one man in a hundred has ever been in a College, more than half the places of honor and trust in our country are held by College men.

Some time ago, Chancellor Lippincott, of the State University of Kansas, wrote to each of the graduates of that College, asking them to state briefly the advantages "which your experience shows that you have derived from your College life and work."

I have here the answers, some few of which I will read.

One says, "My love for the State grew with every lesson I received through her care. I saved five years of my life by her training, and I am a more loyal and a better citizen."

Another had

"A better standing in the community, than I could have gained in any other way."

Another

"Would not exchange the advantages gained for a hundred times their cost, either to Kansas or to myself."

Another considers it "Financially the best investment I ever made."

To another it had given "Strong friendship with the most intelligent young men of the State, those who are certain to largely influence its destiny."

One says, "It has given me a place and an influence among a class of men whom I could not otherwise reached at all."

Another said, "I am better company for myself; and a better citizen, with far more practical interest in my State."

Thus it is, in Kansas, and thus it is everywhere. To the young man or young woman of character, the College Education does pay, from whatever standpoint you may choose to regard it.

When I was a boy on a farm in Western New York, some one urged my parents to send me to College.

"But what will he find to do when he gets through College?" they asked. "Never mind that," said the friend, "he will always find plenty to do. There is always room at the top!"

There is always room at the top! All our professions are crowded in America, but the crowd is around the bottom of the ladder!

We are proud, and justly proud of our Common School System. The free school stands on every Northern cross-road, and it is rapidly finding its way into the great New South. Every effort is made for the education of the masses. There is no upper caste to reap the benefits of an education, for which the poor man has to pay. There is no class, educated and ruling by right of birth; no hereditary House of Lords. Our scholars and our leaders are of the people, from the people.

The American plan is making us an intelligent people as compared with the masses of any other nation. The number of those indifferent or ignorant is less in our Northern States, than in England or Germany or France. But our leadership is worse than theirs. We have, for our numbers, fewer educated men than have any of these countries. Our statesmen are but children by the side of Gladstone or Bismarck. We are all too familiar with the American type of "statesman." The cross ties of the railroads from Washington to Indianapolis are still graven with the prints of his returning boot-heels. He is the butt of our national jokes as well as the sign of our national shame! We have been too busy chop-

ping our trees and breaking our prairies to educate our sons. Thus it comes, that in literature, in science, in philosophy, in everything except mechanical invention, American work has been contented to bear the stamp of mediocrity.

This is not so true now as it was a few years ago, for Young America has made great strides toward the front in all these fields within the last twenty years. But it should not be true to any extent at all. No where in the world, I believe, is the raw material out of which scholars and statesmen should be made so abundant as in America. No where is native intelligence and energy so plentiful, but far too often does it so waste itself in unworthy achievment. Talent lying around loose.

In the different training schools of this State, large and small, more than 3,000 young people are gathered together to prepare for the profession of teaching. Of these, not one in fifty remains in school long enough to secure even the rudiments of a liberal education. For the lowest grades of schools, there are candidates by the hundred, but when one of our really good schools wants a man for a man's work, it can make no use of these teachers, excellent as some of them are in the lower field they have chosen. We must search far and wide for the man to whom a present offer of fifty dollars a month has not seemed more important than all the grand opportunities the scholar may receive.

Many of our young teachers are making a mistake in this regard. Every year the demand for educated men and women in our profession is growing. Every year, scores of half-educated teachers are crowded out of their places to make way for younger men who have the training which the coming years demand.

What kind of a teacher do you mean to be? One who has a basis of culture and will grow as the years go on, or one with nothing in you, who will hang on, a burden to the profession, until he is finally turned out to starve? What is the use of preparing for certain failure? The bird in the hand is not worth ten in the bush. You cannot afford to sell your future at so heavy a discount.

The general purpose of public education, it is said, is the elevation of the masses. This is well, but as the man is above the mass, there is a higher aim than this. Training of the individual is to break up the masses, to draw from the multitude the man. We see a regiment of soldiers on parade—a thousand men; in dress and mien, all are alike—the mass. To the sound of the drum or the command of the officer, they move as one man. By and by, in the business of war, comes the cry for a man to lead some forlorn hope, to do some deed of bravery in the face of danger.

From the masses steps the man. His training shows itself. On parade, no more no less than the others, he stands above them all when the day of trial comes. So too, in other things, in other places, for the need of men is not alone on the field of battle.

A hundred thousand boys were to-day at play on the fields of Indiana. Which of these shall be the great, the good of Indiana's next century? Which of these shall redeem our State from its vassalage to the saloon and the spoilsman? Which of these shall be a centre of sweetness and light, so that the world shall say, "It is good to have lived in Indiana."

These hundred thousand boys form a part of what will be the masses. Let us raise them as high as we can. Let us feed them well. Let us send them to school. Let us make them all wise, intelligent, clean, honest, thrifty, but among them here and there is the future leader of men. Let us raise him from the masses, or rather, let us give him a chance to raise himself, for the pine tree in the thicket needs no outside help to place its head above the sassafras and sumac. To break up the mass, that they may be masses no more, but living men and women, is the mission of Higher Education, and to this end the Colleges of our State exist.

It is not often that I listen to a Fourth of July oration. Still less often do I quote from one of them on an occasion like this. I find, however, in a speech lately delivered by a young man in Albion, Illinois, these words which are good and true.

"The College training is just as important to the nation's welfare as the knowledge of reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography. The great problems of politics are not solved on the stump, not by the editor, not at the ballot-box, not by party triumphs and defeats, but in the walls of our Colleges. There are the ablest and deepest thinkers in social science, in politics, in law."—(*Edward C. Fitch.*)

There are a dozen College professors who might be named, men leading quiet, earnest lives, any one of whom will have more influence on the future of our country than a century of the candidates for whom we shouted and voted last fall. These last are the froth on the popular wave, high and conspicuous for a moment, lost and forgotten the next. The others are the men who have studied politics as Newton studied Astronomy, as Cuvier and Agassiz and Darwin studied Nature, as Shakespeare studied man. Their influence moulds the young men of the future and it will not fade away.

In Medicine, America is still the paradise of Quacks. In Law, the land is full of shysters and pettifoggers, and doers of "fine work," but of

good lawyers, the supply never equals the demand. In Education, no land is so full as America of frauds and shams. The Catalogues of our schools read like the advertisements of our patent medicines. They "cure all ills that flesh is heir to. One bottle sufficient!" The name University in America is assumed by the Cross-roads Academy as well as by Harvard or Johns Hopkins. The name Professor is applied to the country school-master, the barber and the manager of the skating rink. The Bachelor's diploma in Indiana is given by consent of law to those who could not pass the examinations of any decent High School. Such diplomas do not ennoble their holders, but they do serve to bring into contempt the very name of American graduate.

One of the besetting sins of American life is its willingness to call very little things by very big names—its tolerance of imposition and fraud. It is the mission of the scholar in each profession to combat fraud, to show men "facts amid appearances," to say that a pop-gun is a pop-gun, though every one else may be calling it a cannon! As our country grows older, perhaps the number of bladders will diminish. If not, let us have more pins!

What does the College do for the moral, the religious training of the youth? Let us examine. If your College assume to stand in *loco parentis* with rod in hand and spy-glasses on its nose, it will not do much in the way of moral training. The fear of punishment will not make young men moral or religious, still less a punishment so easily evaded as the discipline of the College.

If your College claims to be a Reform school, your professors detective officers, and your president a chief of police, the students will give them plenty to do. A College cannot take the place of the parent. To claim that it does so is mere pretense. It can cure the boy of petty vices and childish trickery only by making him a man, by giving him higher ideals, more serious views of life. You may win by inspiration, not by fear.

Take those dozen students in Munich, of whom Agassiz has written, do you suppose that Dr. Döllinger caught any of them cheating on examination? Did the three young men who knelt under the haystack at Williamstown choose the haystack rather than the billiard hall, for fear of the College Faculty? "Free should the scholar be, free and brave." The petty restraints that may aid in the control of College sneaks and College snobs are an insult to College men and women. And it is for the training of men and women that the College exists.

So too in religious matters. The College can do much, but not by

rules and regulations. The College will not make young men religious by enforced attendance at Church or Prayer-meeting. It will not awaken the spiritual element in the students' nature by any system of demerit marks. This the College can do for religious culture. It can strengthen the student in his search for Truth. It can encourage manliness in him by the putting away of childish things. Let the thoughts of the student be free as the air. Let him prove all things, and he will hold fast to that which is good. Give him a message to speak to other men, and when he leaves your care, you need fear for him, not the world, the flesh, nor the Devil!

This is a practical age, we say, and we look askance at dreams and ideals. We ask now, what is the value of Education? What is the value of Christianity? What is the value of love, of God, of morality, of Truth, of Beauty—as though all these things were for sale in our city markets, somewhat shop-worn and going at a sacrifice.

"My son," says Victor Cherbuliez, "my son, we ought to lay up a stock of absurd enthusiams in our youth, or else we shall reach the end of our journey with an empty heart, for we lose a great many of them by the way."

It is the noblest mission of all High Education, I believe, to fill the mind of the youth with these enthusiasms, with noble ideas of manhood, of work, of life. It should teach him to feel that Life is indeed worth living, and no one who leads a worthy life has ever for a moment doubted this. It should help him to shape his own ambitions as to how a life may be made worthy. It should help him to believe that love and friendship and faith and devotion are things that really exist, and are embodied in men and women. He should learn to know these men and women, whether of the present or of the past, and his life will become insensibly fashioned after theirs. He should form dreams of his own work for society, for Science, for Art, for Religion. His life may fall far short of what he would make it, but a high ideal must precede any worthy achievement.

I once climbed a mountain slope in Utah in midsummer when every blade of grass was burned to a yellow crisp. I look over the valley, and here and there I can trace a line of vivid green across the fields, running down to the lake. I cannot see the water, but I know that the brook is there, for the grass would not grow without its help. Like this brook in the hot plains may be the life of the scholar in the world of men.

I look out over the lives of struggling men and women. I see the weary soul, the lost ambitions,

> "The haggard face, the form that drooped and fainted
> In the fierce race for wealth."

Here and there I trace some line in life along which I see springing up all things good and gracious. Here is the scholar's work. In his pathway are all things beautiful and true, the love of nature, the love of man, the love of God.

Best of all the scholar's privileges is that which Dr. Hale has called "Lending a hand." The scholar travels the road of life well equipped in all which can be helpful to others. He may not travel that road again, and what he does for his neighbor must be done where his neighbor is. The noblest lives have left their traces not only in literature or in history, but in the hearts of men.

Not long ago Professor Bryan said at Indianapolis: "Two summers ago, in a Southern Indiana country neighborhood, I came upon the traces of a man. They were quite as distinct and satisfactory as a geologist could have wished for in the case of a vanished glacier. A good many years had passed away since the man was there, but the impression of his mind and character was still unmistakable. Long ago, when a boy of eighteen, with no special training and no extended education, this man went into Jefferson county to teach. What he did, what he said, what methods or text-books he used, what books or journals he read, I do not know. But if you will go there to-day, you will find in that community, among all kinds and classes and conditions of people, the most satisfactory evidence that that boy-teacher was a man, honest, sincere, energetic, inspiring."

So I have found, as I have gone about over this State of ours, traces here and there which show where a man has lived. In Franklin county, I have found noble remains of the life of Rufus Haymond. In Posey county, the lives of all the Owens. In Marion county, I have found the life of Samuel Hoshour. In Floyd county, the life of John Sloan. In Cuyahoga county, Ohio, the life of Jared Kittland. In Monroe county, we all know the lives of Elisha Ballentine and Andrew Wylie. In greater or less degree, as we come to know the inner history of some little town, we may find that from some past life, its sons and daughters have drawn their inspiration; we may find that once within its borders there lived a man.

One word more. You will go to College, for better or for worse. Where shall you go? The answer to this is simple. Get the best you can. You have but one chance for a College Education and you cannot afford to waste that chance on third-rate or fourth-rate schools. There is but one thing that can make a College strong and useful, and that is a

strong and earnest faculty. All other matters without this, are of less than no importance.

Buildings, Departments, Museums, Courses, Libraries, Catalogue, names, numbers, rules and regulations do not make a University. It is the men who teach. Go where the Masters are, in whatever department you wish to study.

Look over this matter carefully, for it is important. Go for your education to that school, in whatever state or country, under whatever name or control, that will serve your purposes best, that will give you the best returns for the money you are able to spend. Do not stop with the middle men. Go to the men who know, the men who can lead you beyond the primary details to the thoughts and researches which are the work of the scholar.

Far more important than the question of what you shall study is the question of who shall be your teachers. The teacher should not be a self-registering phonograph to put black marks after the names of the lazy boys. He should be a source of inspiration, leading the student in his department to the farthest limit of what is already known, inciting him to make excursions in the greater realms of tbe unknown.

Ezra Cornell said, "I will found an institution in which any person can find instruction in any study." A great idea, and in the University he founded, this idea has been nobly carried out. But it is possible, I believe, for us to do better than this. It is possible for us to have a school in which each subject which is taught, be the number few or many, shall be taught by a master.

Such a school does not yet exist among us, but it will come, and when it comes, it will work a revolution in College Education. I do not know where it may be or when, but in my dreams day and night I can see it, the College of the Masters, the College of the Twentieth Century, standing as the rightful head of the school system of Indiana.

Let the school do for you all it can, and when you have entered on the serious duties of life, let your own work and your own influence in the community be ever the strongest plea that can be urged in behalf of the Higher Education.

ADDRESSES AT THE FOURTH ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

MAY 29, 1895

SPECIALIZATION IN EDUCATION

JOHN MAXSON STILLMAN

Professor of Chemistry, Leland Stanford Junior University

ADDRESS TO THE GRADUATES

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President, Leland Stanford Junior University

PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

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SPECIALIZATION IN EDUCATION.

JOHN MAXSON STILLMAN.

Education, in the somewhat restricted sense in which we commonly use the term, is the systematic effort to economize and to augment the mental and moral development of the individual. It attempts to equip him at the least possible cost of time and waste of energy, with the most important results of the accumulated thought and experience of mankind. Its highest aim is the fitting of the individual to be of the greatest possible service to the race. In general it is also true that the man fitted to be of greatest service to the race, is also best fitted to improve his own condition, and to increase his own comfort and happiness. A system of education which should ignore the first and greater object would contain the seed of its own dissolution, for in the long run society is banded together against organized selfishness.

In former ages, systematic education was designed only for the priesthood. Later it became also a preparation for the other so-called learned professions — law and medicine — and a distinguishing badge, an accomplishment, a luxury for the sons of gentlemen. The "educated classes" formed a caste, and often a narrow and a jealous caste. The increase and wider distribution of wealth and the increasing demands of a progressive civilization, have tended to break down the barriers hedging an educated caste. Step by step the conviction has gained ground that education is the right of the many, rather than the privilege of the few.

Gradually society is becoming convinced that universal education, and a generous education, is one of the few good things of which there can not be too much, and the best paying investment for her security and prosperity. The immense sums expended from the public treasury, or through private munificence, for educational purposes, are capital which society has invested not for individual benefit at the expense of others, but for her own best interests, and we may depend upon it that in the end she will see to it that she receives the full interest due, in terms of honest and efficient service rendered to the material development or the social welfare of humanity.

It is evident that the methods and materials of education must vary with the needs of the time and the ever-changing conditions of civilization. The best education that could be devised in the seventeenth century differs from the best that the nineteenth has developed, and the twentieth century will bring new requirements. To a certain extent the education of today is the outgrowth from past conditions and past needs. On the other hand, the best education of today is the result of a more or less successful effort to forecast the conditions and requirements of the future. It can not be otherwise. The youth now receiving instruction in thousands of class-rooms in the United States are preparing for a life-work in the future, and, in so far as may be, their training has been shaped to meet the probable conditions of their social environment. From a study of the history of the past and the conditions of the present we endeavor to discover tendencies of human thought and action which will be influential in determining the conditions of the future. The more clearly these tendencies can be discerned the more successfully may be laid the foundation of future usefulness. The earnest teacher has faith in a progressive development of human society, however slow it may be, and also in the possibility through education of influencing this development. If he has not this faith, there is lacking an important source of inspiration.

The problems, then, that face advanced educators today are commensurate in their importance with the problems which already confront our civilization, or which more or less distinctly are discerned through the mists which veil the future.

The century now nearing its close has been a period of unexampled material and industrial progress, and I believe also of social and political improvement as well. Though we are confronted with wholesale corruption, rascality, and crime, it is yet reassuring to remember that they are generally and clearly recognized to be corruption, rascality, and crime, and not called honesty, rectitude, and beneficence, even by the most corrupt exponents of public opinion.

Many causes have conspired to make the past century thus remarkable in its development: rapid methods of transit, rapid and cheap intercommunication of ideas, railroads, steamships, telegraph — but more than all, the increase of education and the consequent emancipation of thought from the thraldom of old philosophies and dead dogmas.

The impulse arising from the study of natural and physical science has played no small part in this stimulation of latent human possibilities. Naturally there have arisen from the changing conditions of life new social, political, and industrial problems, making necessary a more varied and different educational preparation. The great variety of schools for general and special training, and the diversity of ideas as to function and methods of education, are evidence of the attempt to suit educational methods to the various needs of the time.

The century soon to be ushered in will doubtless carry forward, perhaps still more rapidly, the industrial and material development of civilization. Its achievements may be greater than those of the nineteenth; but it would be strange if the future century were not beset with difficulties and dangers commensurate with the magnificence of its promise in other directions.

I am no pessimist. I do not believe the golden age of humanity is past, that society is going from bad to worse, and social anarchy hovers over us, sometime to engulf the dissipated remains of civilization. Nor, on the other hand, am I ready to accept that now at last we stand on the shores of Utopia, and that the troubled ages of war, social tyranny, and enthroned selfishness are about to give place to that era longed for by poets of all ages —

> " When the war-drum throbs no longer
> And the battle-flags are furled
> In the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

Yet, slowly or rapidly, with perhaps many a pendulum swing of progression and retrogression, we must and do look forward to a gradual improvement in social conditions, in political wisdom, in honesty, and in love for one's fellowmen. And it is to education that we must look to make the world of a hundred years hence a little better on the average than as we know it today. The problems which are to confront the future generations, more numerous and more difficult, as the conditions of life become more complex, must be met by a more general education of the people, and by education better adapted to the needs of the social organism. Problems already face us which tax to the utmost the knowledge and ability of the best trained experts — problems affecting the mutual relations between nations, international law, international commerce, or finance; equally difficult questions of internal administration — currency, tariff, taxation; the relation of the government to the individual; charities and correction — they need not be further enumerated, we all recognize them. Many social questions once simple and easily regulated become more difficult and of greater import through the growing complexity of the social machinery. Thus the centralization of capital into mammoth corporations or trusts, with the power that springs from a more than kingly

wealth, has given rise to questions of great public importance — questions which troubled but little when competition was freer and the relations of supply and demand less restricted. The State has found itself compelled to interfere to protect the public from the abuse of power by wealthy corporations, and perhaps no task before us is of greater importance than that of protecting the public from such organizations, and at the same time protecting great business enterprises from an equally unjust and tyrannous abuse of the power of legislation. Concentration of capital has made possible organization of labor for its own protection, and here again a giant strength is aroused which public policy must control, that it be not used against the rights of others, nor the welfare of the State.

The problems of civilization are becoming more intricate with the discovery of new fields of human activity, with the increasing development of older professions and industries, and with more intimate international relations, commercial, financial, and political. Every department of human thought and activity feels the impulse of this increasing complexity, and demands in consequence more thorough knowledge and greater skill to deal with the changing conditions.

How are we to acquire the wisdom and ability to deal with such questions on the basis of equity and honesty and with intelligent understanding of the factors involved in their settlement? Only, I am convinced, by the gradual elevation of the people to a higher average of honesty and intelligence, and further than that by the thorough special education of a larger number of men to act as leaders of public opinion in their respective branches of knowledge. The greater the number of such leaders, the more thorough their training, and the more varied the lines of thought in which such leaders exist, the more rapid and free from danger will be the march of progress. When knowledge, skill, and integrity take the lead, and public opinion is intelligent enough to discriminate between the voice of wis-

dom and the flattery and sophistry of the demagogue, then only may we look for the realization of a reasonable Utopia. Far from that goal as we now are, it is nevertheless the part of practical patriotism and humanity to strive ever toward it, that we may avoid to the greatest extent possible the wrong solutions of those ever-recurring problems of society — ever-recurring because, as has been well said, if a question be not *rightly* settled it always comes up again for settlement.

Two hundred years ago any man of ability and of good schooling for the time might readily have mastered all that was then known about steam engineering. Any statesman of the time of Queen Elizabeth might easily have learned all that existed of international law. How much greater the preparation now required to master those branches! A similar increase in subject matter and in complexity of relations, and a corresponding need of more special and more thorough training, may be found in all the sciences and their applications, in mercantile and manufacturing business, law, medicine, statecraft, literature, or philosophy. Where a hundred years ago a fairly good preparatory education and some natural adaptability to the subject formed sufficient foundation to enable a man to earn a front rank in his profession, today the man without thorough special training finds himself forced to take a subordinate rank. There is an increasing tendency to subdivide the professions and occupations, once practiced as a whole — or, as we say, to specialize. The lawyer takes up the practice of corporation law, patent law, commercial law, and so on; the physician chooses some subdivision of medicine or surgery; the engineering profession shows the same tendency.

This tendency toward specialization is a practical recognition of the importance of more thorough knowledge and of the increasing labor or difficulty of obtaining sufficient preparation for satisfactory work in all branches of a given profession.

Modern education must take cognizance of this great diversity of work in life, and of the greater need of training adapted to these diverse objects. In all departments of human activity where brain is more essential to success than muscle (and where is it not?) the increasing differentiation of civilization is making more and more exacting and more difficult the determining of what kind of education is adapted to produce the most effective preparation. It becomes evident that we must devote more years to this preparation, or there must be found some way to employ the present average student period to better advantage.

On the other hand, we must face the fact that the average length of human life is not increasing; nor does the inherited capacity for education in the human race increase in proportion to the growth of civilization. As another has said, the evolution of civilization is more rapid than that of the race. It does not seem probable that the time devoted to schooling in lower and higher institutions can be on the average lengthened much beyond the present limits. Eventually a standing army of students is cheaper to maintain than a standing army of soldiers, as the world will sooner or later realize. But any standing army of non-producers operates as a heavy tax on the community, and this fact will militate against any material extension of that part of life devoted to study by the ever-increasing army of students attending the higher schools of all kinds, professional, technical, or general.

It is then necessary, if education is to keep pace with the march of civilization, that, by constantly improving methods and plans of instruction, we shall learn better to economize the student's time, more thoroughly to marshal his capabilities toward some worthy aim, more effectively to render active his potential energy. For whenever society has invested the time and the productive energy of the student she will demand her reward in the assurance that the recipient of her bounty shall ultimately render a service adequate to the time and cost of education. In no

other way can such service be rendered than for the student to so utilize his years of preparation that he shall be able and willing to use his powers and faculties for the greatest possible good of society. To faithfully discharge this obligation he must prepare himself to take as high a place of usefulness as his native ability and his opportunities render possible. That man or woman who accomplishes less of good or useful work than is possible to his or her ability and opportunities is to that extent committing a sin against society.

To further such an aim, the student must bend his energies toward preparing himself to do in some useful line of activity the best that in him lies. To meet the increasing differentiation of life, specialization in education is necessary; and to achieve a maximum of efficiency for the individual there must be an early adaptation of plan and of methods to the end to be attained. The greatest possible service to the best interests of humanity is the ultimate goal of all education, and to him who brings to the cause of human progress full-hearted and efficient service, will be made liberal return in gifts of wealth, of fame, of respect, or of love, according to the degree or the aim of such service.

I should perhaps state more explicitly what I mean by specialization in education. I understand by that phrase, devoting the necessary portion of the student's allotted time in the University in such a way as will enable him to become to some extent identified with some branch of knowledge or some field of human thought. This object implies the laying of a thorough foundation in all branches of knowledge clearly related to the chosen specialty, and the cultivation of all those faculties and powers necessary to its successful prosecution. It also implies the study of the specialty itself to the extent of acquiring a certain measure of familiarity with its methods, and some degree of mastership. By mastership I do not mean the complete familiarity which can only result from a life-time of labor in the

chosen field. A specialty pursued to the extent possible during the time available to most students must indeed leave the earnest student with a keen sense of the narrow limits of his knowledge. Nevertheless, rightly pursued, it should at least impart to him a feeling of confidence as to his power to carry forward in a worthy and intelligent manner the work thus well begun.

After all, it is this sense of power, this confidence in one's ability to keep growing in power, this consciousness that in some line of thought the mind is out of leading strings, that is one of the greatest incentives to a high range of life-work; and it is the lack of this confidence that often bars the way to the greatest usefulness, and that causes so many men to fail in utilizing the advantages of education, falling back into stations which require little or no special preparation.

Knowledge is indeed power — not, however, the superficial knowledge of a multitude of things, but the thorough knowledge of some useful thing. A general knowledge of many things adds to the pleasure of living; it is a source of profit and enjoyment to ourselves and to our friends; it enables us better to understand the interests and to sympathize with the aspirations of our neighbors. It assists us to judge wisely concerning many things conducive to the right conduct of life; it helps to make the good citizen and the good man. But it will not replace the ability to do something or other better than most of our neighbors, something for which we have been more thoroughly educated than they. Not every man can achieve greatness in his special line of work; not every man can be a Darwin, an Agassiz, a Helmholtz, or an Emerson; but every man of fair ability and industry may so utilize his opportunities that he may do serviceable work in the line he chooses for his own.

It is no longer practicable to leave specialization till the student days are over. The differentiation of occupation and the accumulated mass of special knowledge necessary

to success is too great. The beginning of specialization must be made under the direction of those competent to instruct and whose occupation it is to impart their knowledge. Nor should the benefit arising from specialization be confined to the fortunate few who can afford to prolong their University work beyond the average four years, though these will indeed usually reap more than proportionate advantage. It is better to make some sacrifice of general studies rather than to deprive the many of the benefits that arise from thus focusing their energies on some congenial subject, to the end that they may acquire therein some confidence in their knowledge and their power.

The danger that lies near specialization in the University is that which arises from an education too narrow and one-sided. We frequently hear of the evils of over-specialization, and of a class of narrow and unpractical specialists. It is beyond question true that a narrow specialization, begun prematurely and resting on too inadequate a foundation, will to a great extent defeat its own objects. Even if the student should under some circumstances achieve a fair measure of success in his specialty, he may be too narrow in his views and out of touch with the progress of society — particularly if he be by nature a man of narrow mind. But, even so, which of the two extreme types is worse: the man of narrow training, lacking in the usual characteristics of the guild of scholars, out of touch perhaps with the common thought of the leaders of humanity, but capable of doing useful work in his special field of labor; or the highly cultured and accomplished college graduate with a smattering of twenty -ologies and -isms, but with not enough useful knowledge of anything to enable him to find a place in the world's work — a drone in the social hive? I question if there exists a more essentially narrow man than this latter type of educated man — for he can never see beyond the horizon of his own shallow experience, and from his self-constructed throne he judges the rest of mankind with the complacent assurance born of a fancied superiority.

We must discriminate with care between the ideas of over-specialization and of premature or unwise specialization. I do not know that over-specialization is possible if the subject be a useful one and the preparation for it sufficiently broad and thorough. The higher we build the pinnacles of special knowledge the broader and deeper must be the foundation that supports them, and the more carefully must it be adapted to its purpose. Too limited a differentiation is unwise, also, if the subject matter is not of importance commensurate with the time and labor bestowed upon it. The University must not admit to the dignity of specialties subjects of trivial importance, or which do not demand for their preparation work of University grade. It must also insist that the preparation for special studies be sufficiently broad and fundamental. If these conditions be observed, there need be no fear of the danger of over-specialization. Nor, on the other hand, does specialization rightly considered tend to exclude from education all those influences which go to make the gentleman and the scholar. It merely provides throughout the college course of the student that "one increasing purpose runs."

The study of any worthy subject as a specialty, be it history, physics, law, biology, engineering, or philology, if it be prosecuted with the proper spirit and with due reference to all that is demanded for a thorough mastery of the science, may contain within it the germs of all that is essential to the world's best citizen, and as to the efficiency of such an education neither the rostrum, the salon, nor the club furnishes the criterion. It is not the curriculum of the University that determines the value of the education so much as it is the adaptability of the work to the individual, the spirit of the student, his zeal, his application, and the thoroughness of his accomplishment. There are many studies that are *useful* in cultivating that breadth of sympathy and of understanding which we call culture, but no one study is *essential*. Even the correct use of one's native language is no absolute essential, valuable and important

though it be. Particular studies have no abstract educational value; they are only useful as they find something responsive in the mind of the student. One man finds through the study of history the great lessons of humanity, and bends his life to fulfill the laws of social evolution as they reveal themselves to his mind. Another learns the love of truth and the reverence for law through the study of the forces of nature.

I doubt if there is any one thing in the consideration of higher education more important for its future development than that a man's education must be more carefully adapted to the structure of his mind than is his clothing to his body. Specialization in education with a variation corresponding to the differentiation of modern civilization necessarily implies an elasticity suited to the mental capabilities and inclination of the student. It is more difficult to change the inherited and acquired mental constitution than it is to change the inherited and acquired physical characteristics. As we have not yet the means of measuring the mind of a man as the tailor measures his body, we must be guided largely by his own tastes or the evidence he gives of ability in one line or another. Education can but develop existent faculties and furnish the tools for their exercise. It can not create mental faculties; it can only enable the man, by the wise direction of his energies, to make the best use of those powers he possesses.

In presenting this plea for more specialization than is recognized in the curricula of most American Universities I desire not to be misunderstood. I believe that every man and woman should receive the most complete education that circumstances will permit. No one can know too much nor know too thoroughly whatever of good and useful there is to know. No capital of money or of time is better invested for one's own welfare or for the good of one's fellows than that invested in education. The broader the foundation and the more varied the mental training the greater are the potentialities for future usefulness. Nor

can any man foresee what destiny has in store, nor be sure that the vocation he aspires to in youth will be the occupation of his manhood's years. He is wise who plants many kinds of seed to provide harvests of satisfaction for future years. In variety of knowledge and of interests are the germs of nobler pleasures and greater usefulness. Only when a large number of men and women are educated to a position of intelligent appreciation of the needs of society, and to an unselfish aspiration for the common welfare, can the wisest leaders of thought and action exert their due influence. For, as educated men and women, as has been said,

> "We are pledged
> To understand, to live the truth we know,
> And help men so to live and understand."

Recognizing clearly these great aims and responsibilities of higher education, and desiring to see them fulfilled to the utmost, I yet believe that as there is no particular curriculum essential to these aims it is possible for the student to select a course of study which, while it shall furnish all the essentials of a liberal education, may nevertheless bear a clear relation to his special line of work; and also that this ideal course must be as varied in detail as are the minds of men and the avocations of educated men. To the end that general training be not sacrificed to the need of specialization, and that time may be found for more effective work in the specialty without prolonging the average period of study, the work of the lower or preparatory schools must be made more thorough and effective. There should be fewer mechanical methods, and more attention to individual capacity and adaptability. The subjects taught need not be many, but they should be fundamental in their departments: language, literature, history, mathematics, natural or physical science. They should be taught in such a way as to hold the attention and to develop to the greatest possible degree the powers of observation, reasoning, and reflection. For this more teachers and better teach-

ers will be needed — and this applies to schools of grammar and primary grade to an even greater degree than to high schools. These improvements are certain to come, for we are but just beginning to realize that money spent in education is, even from a pecuniary standpoint, a paying investment for society. More money is wasted in every civilized country from lack of knowledge than would many times pay for the cost of proper education — could we but discover the proper education. Every improvement in educational methods necessitates improvements in all departments of education. Each new higher school or university is born to new responsibilities, every succeeding generation of students to a richer educational birthright; and that institution which fails to meet its responsibilities or misinterprets the direction in which lies true development will sooner or later experience the inexorableness of the law of human progress.

> "It seeth everywhere and marketh all:
> Do right — it recompenseth! do one wrong —
> The equal retribution must be made,
> Though DHARMA tarry long.
>
> "It knows not wrath nor pardon; utter-true
> Its measures mete, its faultless balance weighs;
> Times are as nought: tomorrow it will judge,
> Or after many days."

Finally, let us keep in view that whatever be the extent or kind of training which in any given case or under any given circumstances it is practicable to impart, it is above all important to inculcate the spirit of earnest endeavor, the love of truth, and reverence for the laws which underlie alike the forces of nature and of human life. Let us realize also the value of opportunities and leisure for quiet reflection, for unhurried thinking — times of respite from the rush and whirl of that mighty torrent of modern activity which threatens to sweep us away like bubbles on its surface. We can not attempt to know all things; it becomes us therefore to confine our attention and to concentrate our

energies upon fewer things, that opportunity may yet remain for such mental leisure, with its blessed train of elevating influences, to steal upon the mind, sweetening it with the promise of a golden age to come, when intelligence, integrity, and morality shall rule the earth.

As was written thirty years ago by our California poet, Sill:

> Haste! haste! O laggard, leave thy drowsy dreams!
> Cram all thy brain with knowledge; clutch and cram!
> The earth is wide, the universe is vast—
> Thou hast infinity to learn—O haste!
>
> Haste not, haste not, my soul. Infinity?
> Thou hast eternity to learn it in.
> Thy boundless lesson through the endless years
> Hath boundless leisure. Run not like a slave—
> Sit like a king, and see the ranks of worlds
> Wheel in their cycles onward to thy feet.

ADDRESS TO THE GRADUATES.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

To the Class of '95 —

Today we give you the last of your childhood's toys, the college degree. The degree, with all its titles and its privileges, is yours. But it will not help you much in life. It belongs to the babyhood of culture. It represents hopes and ideals, the promise of youth — but men and women are judged by achievements, not by dreams. You will value your diploma for the growth to which it bears witness. For the warm friendships and sweet associations you will value it again. And still you will prize it as a card of admission to the noblest body of men and women in the world, the band of Collegiate Alumni. All this is now yours. Lay the diploma away now with the best of your youthful treasures. Today you take your place in the world of men. You have reached your majority. One by one, you have passed the goals your teachers have set for you. The goals of the future must be of your own choosing. It is yours now to think, and therefore to act for yourselves. This you can surely do. It will be no new experience. Your training in the past has been such, we trust, that the new freedom will be new in name only. It will come to you with no shock of surprise, for in freedom you have been trained for freedom.

You of the Class of 1895 have occupied a unique position toward this University. You were the first, the band of pioneers. It has been yours to lead, never to follow. Those

who in future years are drawn to these halls may weigh and compare, balance privilege with privilege, opportunity with opportunity; their choice will be governed by influences which in part have come out from you. They will measure the future by the past. For you there was no past. You trusted the forces the University seemed to represent. You have given your best years of training to this institution when it had no record of achievement, no wealth of tradition. You have been University makers. The highest value of tradition lies in the making of it; the noblest wealth is the wealth of promise. It is the place of the pioneer to make for the future, not to share in the past.

When nearly four years ago we came for the first time together in this quadrangle, you with your teachers were the University. The University lives in the changing units that pass through its halls. The life of its beginning was yours alone. On that first day of October, 1891 — a day memorable to all of us, at least — it was my fortune to say these words to you:

"It is for us as teachers and students in the University's first year to lay the foundations of a school which may last as long as human civilization. Ours is the youngest of the universities, but it is heir to the wisdom of all the ages, and with this inheritance it has the promise of a rapid and sturdy growth. Our University has no history to fall back upon; no memories of great teachers haunt its corridors; in none of its rooms appear the traces which show where a great man has ever lived or worked. No tender associations cling, ivy-like, to its fresh new walls. It is hallowed by no traditions; it is hampered by none. Its finger-post still points forward. Traditions and associations it is ours to make. From our work the future of the University will grow as a splendid lily from a modest bulb. But the future with its glories and its responsibilities will be in other hands. It is ours at the beginning to give the University its form, its tendencies, its customs. The power of precedent will cause to be repeated over and over

again everything that we do — our errors as well as our wisdom. It becomes us, then, to begin the work modestly, as under the eye of the coming ages. We must lay the foundations broad and firm, so as to give full support to whatever edifice the future may build."

Four years is a short time as we measure history, even the history of universities. But it is a long time when we consider all that can take place in it. These four years have been hallowed by the noblest courage and devotion you and I have ever known. The self-sacrifice which we know, though the world does not, and by virtue of which we are together here today, has left its mark on every one of you. You have learned to know how wealth and power can be expressed in terms of helpfulness. In helpfulness alone can wealth or power find consecration.

Again these four years are long when measured by the growing thoughts of growing minds. They have been long enough for the University to place on you its ineffaceable stamp. Men and women of Stanford you shall be so long as you live, and longer — so long as your memory shall last. The beloved name of Leland Stanford Jr. has fallen to you as an heritage. In the future it shall stand for what you make it. It has been yours to help frame once for all its definition. You have placed your mark on the University, and the generations that follow cannot change this mark, they can only deepen it. In your foot-steps the students of the future must stand. You are the pioneers. Wherever you may go, in whatever situation you may be placed, you will embody the spirit of the Stanford University.

In these four years we have made some history, formed some associations, uttered some distinctive word. What shall our message be? I can not answer this question. No one can answer it now, for the message must be expressed by each one of you in his own way, and to the people whom the incidents and happenings of life shall bring about him as his neighbors.

Some part of this message lies in the words of Emerson: "The best political economy is the care and culture of men." The care and culture of men does not mean their coddling, but their training — not help from without, but growth from within. The harsh experience of centuries has shown that men are not made by easy processes. Character is a hardy plant; it thrives best where the north wind tempers the sunshine.

The life of civilized man is no simple art, no automatic process. To make life easy is to bring it to failure. The civilization to which we are born makes heavy demands upon those who take part in it. Its rights are all duties; its privileges are all responsibilities. Its penalties are terrible upon those who do not make their responsibilities good. And these responsibilities are not individual alone. They fall upon all who are bound together in social or industrial alliance. If we are to bear one another's burdens, we must see that no unnecessary burdens are laid upon us by our indifference or ignorance. There is no safety for the Republic, no safety for the individual man for whom the Republic exists, so long as he or his fellows are untrained or not trained aright.

So there is no virtue in educational systems unless these systems meet the needs of the individual. It is not the ideal man or the average man who is to be trained, it is the particular man, as the forces of Nature have made him. His own qualities determine his needs. "A child is better unborn than untaught." A child, however educated, is still untaught if by his teaching we have not emphasized his individual character, if we have not strengthened his will and its guide and guardian, the mind.

The essence of manhood lies in the growth of the power of choice. In the varied relations of life the power to choose means the duty of choosing right. To choose the right one must have the wit to know it and the will to demand it. In the long run, in small things as in large, wrong choice is punished by death. No republic can live,

no man can live, in a republic in which wrong is the repeated choice either of the people or of the State.

All education must be individual, fitted to individual needs. That which is not is unworthy of the name. A misfit education is no education at all. Every man that lives has a right to some form of higher education. For there is no man that would not be made better and stronger by continuous training. I do not mean, of course, that the conventional college education of today could be taken by every man to his advantage. Still less could the average man use the conventional college education of any past era. Higher education has seemed to be the need of the few, because it has been so narrow. It was made for the few. Its type was fixed and pre-arranged, and those whose minds it did not fit were looked upon by the colleges as educational outcasts. The rewards of investigation, the pleasures of high thinking, the charms of harmony, have never yet been for the multitude. To the multitude they must be accessible in the future. Not as a gift, for nothing worth having was ever a gift. Rather as a right to be taken by those who can. To yield the higher education that humanity needs the college must be broad as humanity. No spark of talent man may possess should be outside its fostering care. To fit man into schemes of education has been the mistake of the past. To fit education to man is the work of the future.

The traditions of higher education in America had their origin in social conditions very different from ours. In the Golden Age of Greece each free man stood on the back of nine slaves. The freedom which might have come to the ten was the birthright of the one. To train the tenth man was the function of the early university. A part of this training must be in the arts by which the nine were kept in subjection.

The Universities of Paris and Oxford and Cambridge rose for the purpose of training the lord and the priest. And to these schools and their successors as time went on

fell the duty of training the gentleman and the clergyman. Only in our day has it been recognized that the common man had part or lot in higher education; for now he has come into his own, and he demands that he too may be noble and gentle. His own lord and king he is already, and in the next century we shall see the common man installed as his own priest. And through higher education he must gain fitness for his work, if he gains it at all. And he must gain it, for the future of civilization is in his hands. The world can not afford to let him fail. All the ages have looked forward to the common man as their "heir apparent." The whole past of humanity is staked on his success. The old traditions are not sufficient for him. The narrow processes by which gentlemen were trained in mediæval Oxford are not adequate to the varied demands of the man of the twentieth century. Heir to all the ages he must be — and there are ages since, as there were before the tasks set in these schools became stereotyped as culture. The need of choice has become a thousand-fold greater with the extension of human knowledge and human power. The need of choosing right is steadily growing more and more imperative. If the common man is to be his own lord and his own priest in these strenuous days, his strength must be as great, his consecration as intense, as it was with those who were his rulers in ruder and less trying times. The osmosis of classes is still going on. By its silent force it has "pulled down the mighty from their seats and has exalted them of low degree." Again, educate our rulers; for we find that they need it. They have not yet in the aggregate the brains nor the conscience nor the force of will that fits them for the task the fates have thrown upon them.

If the civilization of the one is shared by the ten, it must increase ten-fold in amount. If it does not, the Golden Age it seems to represent must pass away. To hold the civilization we enjoy today is the work of higher education. Every moment we feel it slipping from our hands. Hence every moment we must strive for a fresh hold. "Eternal

vigilance," it was said of old, "is the price of liberty." And this is what was meant. The perpetuation of free institutions rests with free men. The masses, the mobs of men, are never free. Hence the need of the hour is to break up the masses. Let them be masses no more, but living men and women. The work of higher education is to draw forth from the multitude the man. To tyranny, confusion is succeeding; and the remedy for confusion is in the growth of men who cannot be confused.

This University, more than any other in the world, has recognized the need of the individual student as the reason for its existence. It has held that if we are to make men and women out of boys and girls, it will be as individuals, not as classes. The best field of corn is that in which the individual stalks are most strong and most fruitful. Class legislation has always proved pernicious and ineffective, whether in a university or in a state. The strongest nation is that in which the individual man is most helpful and most independent. The best school is that which exists for the individual student. Our University is not an aggregation of colleges, departments, or classes — it is built up of young men and women. The student is its unit. Its basal idea of education is that each student should devote his time and strength to what is best for him; that no force of tradition, no rule of restraint, no bait of a degree, should swerve any one from his own best educational path. As Professor Anderson has said: "The way to educate a man is to set him at work; the way to get him to work is to interest him; the way to interest him is to vitalize his task by relating it to some form of reality." No man was ever well trained whose own soul was not wrought into the process. No student was ever brought to any worthy work except by his own consent.

So the University must not drive, but lead. Nor in the long run should it even lead, for the training of the will is effected by the exercise of self-guidance. The problem of human development is to bring men into the right path by their own realization that it is good to walk therein.

The student must feel with every day's work that it has some place in the formation of his character. His character he must form for himself, but higher education gives him the materials. His character gathers consecration as the work goes on if he can see for himself the place of each element in his training. Its value he has tested and he knows that it is good, and its results he learns to treasure accordingly.

Individualism in education is no discovery of our times. It was by no means invented at Palo Alto, neither was it born in Harvard nor in Michigan. The need of it is written in the heart of man. It has found recognition wherever the "care and culture" of man has been taken seriously.

A Japanese writer, Uchimura, says this of education in old Japan:

"We were not taught in classes then. The grouping of soul-bearing human beings into classes, as sheep upon Australian farms, was not known in our old schools. Our teachers believed, I think instinctively, that man (persona) is unclassifiable, that he must be dealt with personally — i. e., face to face and soul to soul. So they schooled us one by one, each according to his idiosyncracies, physical, mental, and spiritual. *They knew every one of us by his name.* And as asses were never harnessed with horses, there was but little danger of the latter being beaten down into stupidity, or the former driven into valedictorians' graves. In this respect, therefore, our old-time teachers in Japan agreed with Socrates and Plato in their theory of education.

"So naturally the relation between teachers and students was the closest one possible. We never called our teachers by that unapproachable name, Professor. We called them *Sensei*, men born before, so named because of their prior birth, not only in respect of the time of their appearance in this world, which was not always the case, but also of their coming to the understanding of the Truth.

"It was this, our idea of relationship between teacher

and student, which made some of us to comprehend at once the intimate relation between the Master and the disciples which we found in the Christian Bible. When we found written therein that the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord, or that the good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep, and other similar sayings, we took them almost instinctively as things known to us long before."

Thus it was in old Japan. Thus should it be in new America. In such manner do the oldest ideas forever renew their youth, when these ideas are based not on tradition nor convention, but in the nature of Man.

The best care and culture of man is not that which restrains his weakness, but that which gives play to his strength. We should work for the positive side of life. To get rid of vice and folly is to let strength grow in their place.

The great danger in Democracy is the seeming predominance of the weak. The strong and the true seem to be never in the majority. The politician who knows the signs of the times understands the ways of majorities. He knows fully the weakness of the common man. Injustice, violence, fraud, and corruption are all expressions of this weakness. These do not spring from competition, but from futile efforts to stifle competition. Competition means fair play. Unfair play is the confession of weakness.

The strength of the common man our leaders do not know. Ignorant, venal, and vacillating the common man is at his worst, but he is also earnest, intelligent, and determined. To know him at his best is the essence of statesmanship. His power for good may be used as well as his power for evil. It was this trust of the common man that made the statesmanship of Lincoln. And under such a leader the common man ceases to be common. To know strength is the secret of power. To work with the best in human nature is to have the fates on your side. He who strikes as they strike has the force of Infinity in his blows. He who defies them wields a club of air.

"A flaw in thought an inch long," says a Chinese poet, "leaves a trace of a thousand miles." If collective action is to be safe, the best thought of the best men must control it. It is the ideal of statesmanship to bring these best thoughts into unison. The flaw in the thought of each one will be corrected by the clear vision of others. And this order and freedom, clear vision and clean acting, we have the right to expect from you. Knowledge is power, because thought is convertible into action. Ignorance is weakness, because without clearness of purpose action can never be effective.

The best political economy is the care and culture of men. The best spent money of the present is that which is used for the future. The force which is used on the present is spent or wasted. That which is used on the future is repaid with compound interest. It is for you to show, that effort for the future of which you are the subjects is not wasted effort. That you will do so we have no shadow of doubt. If its influence on you and you only were the whole of the life of the University we love, it would be worth all it has cost. The money and the effort, the faith and devotion these halls have seen, would not be wasted. It will abide in the hearts of men, and so long as California shall live the Leland Stanford Jr. University will be justified in you. You are her children — first-born, and it may be best-beloved — and in the ever-widening circle of your work she shall rejoice. For your influence will be positive and therefore effective. You will stand for the love of man and the love of truth. No one can love man aright who does not love truth better. And in the end these loves are alike in essence.

The foundation of a university, as Professor Howard has told us, may be an event greater in the history of the world than the foundation of a state. By its life is it justified. The state at the best exists for the men and women that compose it. Its needs can never be the noblest, its aims never the highest, because it can never rise above the pres-

ent. Its limit of action is that which now is. The university stands for the future. It deals with the possibilities of men, with the strength and virtue of men which is not realized. Its foundation is the co-operation of the strong, its function to convert weakness into strength. The universities of Europe have shaped the civilization of the world. The universities of the world will shape the growth of man so long as civilization shall abide.

To the care and culture of men and women this University has been dedicated. As I said to you when we came together so I say to you again :

" The Golden Age of California begins when its gold is used for purposes like this. From such deeds must rise the new California of the coming century, no longer the California of the gold seeker and the adventurer, but the abode of high-minded men and women, trained in the wisdom of the ages and imbued with the love of nature, the love of man, and the love of God. And bright indeed will be the future of our State if, in the usefulness of the University, every hope and prayer of the founders shall be realized."

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

A Palm Sunday Sermon

By Rev. Chas. R. Brown
First Congregational Church
Oakland, California

No. 14

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A Palm Sunday Sermon

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Palm Sunday, as we all know, is the anniversary of the public entry of Jesus into Jerusalem a few days before his crucifixion. It takes its name from the fact that His friends took palm branches in their hands and went out to meet Him, waving them before Him as symbols of victory. In fulfillment of an ancient prophecy as to how the Messiah should come to the capital city of the Hebrews, Jesus came riding upon a young ass. It was a very humble sort of mount. There was nothing prancing nor showy about the sleepy little donkey, as there would have been about a war-horse. The donkey was the beast of common life, the beast of burden, the means of conveyance for the wife and children when family journeys were made. He was gentle and harmless as a sheep. Jesus chose this mode of entering the city in fulfillment of the ancient prophecy, and to impress upon the multitude of strangers the fact that He claimed to be their Messiah. He did it also, I believe, to indicate the spirit and method with which He came to take possession of the cities and the hearts of men. The cry of the people was, "Behold! Thy King cometh unto thee in gentleness." The method of this King of Kings, as indicated in His public entrance, was to be the embodiment of mercy and of peace.

The people then were familiar with triumphal entries. "Many a time and oft they climbed up walls and battlements to towers and windows, yea to chimney tops, and there did sit the livelong day with patient expectation to see great Pompey pass the streets of Rome." And when Pompey, or any great ruler, came, he was riding proudly in a war chariot, or mounted handsomely on his war-horse. He had all the pomp and circumstance that belong to conquest by force. It was hard to divert the minds of the people from the thought that this was true glory and that nothing else could be. It is hard yet. It seems incongruous to many minds to think that genuine royalty must be the embodiment of gentleness and that the kingliest kings must extend their sway by the instruments of peaceful life.

The very phrase those simple-hearted Galileans used was startling—"Thy King cometh unto thee in gentleness." Kings

were not commonly celebrated for their gentleness; nor was mildness regarded as a royal quality. A man who would bear rule did not scruple about the employment of cruel force. Some of the old Hebrew psalms even incorporated that destructive side of kingliness into their prediction of the Messiah. They said that He would come "breaking His enemies with a rod of iron and dashing them in pieces, like a potter's vessel." But instead of that He came saying, "Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you." He died praying for the forgiveness of His enemies, even on the cross where they were killing Him. This employment of simple, kindly methods in the establishment of a new kingdom astonished the Jews. They regarded it as utterly impracticable. And men who share that view are with us yet. Some of our Americans within the last year have clung to the idea that there is something grander than peaceful gentleness; that we must ride upon war-horses and war-ships if we would properly enter the cities of the world. It may, therefore, be good for us, as a Christian congregation, to study the example of the King of Kings on this Palm Sunday and to hold before our minds again the royalty of mercy.

All through Christ's earthly ministry a certain paradox troubled His followers. He called Himself a King. He went about saying, "The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." He referred to "My Kingdom" when He talked with the Roman Governor. Yet how strange were His methods in establishing that Kingdom! He was born in simple obscurity. He grew up in a country village among the hills. He belonged to the working class, and toiled in a carpenter's shop until He was thirty years-old, and when He entered upon His public career He moved along the quiet lines of peace, even though His country was ground under the heel of a Roman oppressor. He never had a sword in His hand. He never killed anybody, nor commanded His followers to kill. On the contrary, He said that He came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them; not to kill, but to make alive. And when one of His impulsive followers hastily drew the sword, in a righteous cause, as Peter thought, for he was defending holy innocence against the betrayer, and with uncertain stroke cut off a man's ear, Jesus rebuked him. "Put up thy sword," He said, and then healed the wounded man with a touch. His quiet comment was, "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword." To some of His friends it seemed strange, freakish, and doctrinaire. The shrewd and worldly Pilate [illegible]ed, as Jesus indicated His methods, "Art thou a king

then?" It was deemed impossible that gentleness and mercy should ever rule the earth. But Jesus staked the success of His whole life work upon that principle; and the mode of His entrance upon that first Palm Sunday indicated what should be the leading characteristic of the new movement.

I know that some men laugh at all this as not being practical. They tell us that we must have guns and swords, cannon and war-ships; that we must be clothed with destruction and go about killing men if we are to be a "world power." They tell us that to do otherwise would make us a "hermit nation," and render us weak, cowardly, and mean in the eyes of the world. The nobler ambition to enter the lists as a first-class intellectual and moral force among the nations seems to them totally insufficient. This ought not to surprise us. The great grandfathers of these men sneered at the methods of Jesus in the same way. They regarded His kingly claims as a huge joke; they put upon Him a purple robe and a crown of thorns. They danced before Him in glee and jeered at Him, "Hail, King of the Jews." They wrote the sarcastic inscription on the cross in regard to His kingship as a taunt, and then they hung Him between two thieves. All this tickled the thoughtless crowd at Jerusalem. They, too, railed at Him, wagging their heads. They sneered, "Save thyself, and come down from the cross if thou be the King of the Jews." And if the descendants of these men express their contempt for simple and peaceful methods of national growth it need not disturb us; it is enough for the servant to be as His Lord.

Paul said that "Christ crucified" was to the Jews a stumbling block. It was the joining together of two incongruous ideas. The word "Christ" means "anointed" or "kingly;" and for Him to be put to death when He might have defended Himself by force and might have led an army of ten legions against His foes, disturbed all their notions of royalty. The hardest lesson they had to learn was that the King of Kings should live, suffer, and die in gentleness, instead of seeking to compel allegiance by force. The nations of the earth have been uniformly slow in learning this same lesson. England once had two hundred and thirty-three crimes on her statute books punishable by the death of the offender. The advocates of "strong government" asserted that this forcible and deadly resistance, even to petty crimes, was necessary to keep public order. But as England grew wise, humane, and Christian she drew her pen through statute after statute, until the death penalty is

visited upon but one crime, and that only when committed in its most aggravated form. And yet, with all this increased gentleness, England is better ruled to-day and criminals more thoroughly repressed than in the days of reckless severity. It is easy to kill men who do wrong ; it is divinely hard to reclaim them. It is easy to hate our enemies ; it is divinely hard to love them. But Jesus has indicated the line of true progress and we make permanent advance only as we establish gentleness and mercy upon the throne.

You remember the unqualified confidence that our Lord had in the success of His method. "Blessed are the gentle," He said, "for they shall inherit the earth." It is so written in the book of Matthew and it is also written in the constitution of the world. It is the announcement, not of an arbitrary promise, but of a solid principle upon which the earth rests. God has written many truths besides the Ten Commandments upon tables of stone. Away back in prehistoric times, when the huge and cruel reptiles, the saurians and ophidians, and all the rest, had their sway, it might have seemed as though gentleness could never succeed; but these savage animals had to give place to higher and finer forms of life. By and by the most numerous of the larger animals in the world were the lions and tigers, the wolves and the bears; the cruel, destructive ones. But all these, too, must give place, and now we must go to the museum or the zoological garden to find them. The gentler animals, the horses and the cows, the sheep and the goats, are now the most numerous. The gentle must inevitably inherit the earth, because gentleness is more useful than cruelty and it holds the future in its hands.

The same orderly development is seen among the nations. The people who increasingly bear rule are not those possessed of the strongest bodies and the greatest amount of brute force. The most intelligent and the most humane nations are the ones that are inheriting the control of the earth. England, Russia, and the United States are not nearly so gentle as they ought to be, but they are far more humane than the Turks and the Arabs, the Dervishes and the Bushmen, who are losing their influence. But you say these nations acquired their territory by force. Not always, nor even the larger part of their possessions. Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, and many other islands of the sea, have been taken by peaceful methods and not by conquest. The United States, since the adoption of the Constitution, has not taken a foot of land from the Indians, the original owners of the soil, by conquest, but in every instance by purchase and treaty.

Acquisition of territory by any other than peaceful methods will more and more come into international disrepute. Humanity, mercy, and gentleness must rule, for it is written that they shall inherit the earth.

We find a striking illustration of this same principle in our own national prosperity. A hundred years ago our feeble colonies had next to nothing except a national debt and an unquenchable hope. We have had great resources and fine opportunities, it is true, but still the result has been phenomenal. In this brief time the wealth of our nation has increased to eighty billions of dollars as against England's sixty billions—these two standing as the richest nations of all the earth. We have not wasted time, money, nor life in international warfare. With all our shortcomings we have been a humane people. We were the first nation that dared to say and to stand by it that in their political privileges all men are created free and equal. We were the first nation that welcomed to citizenship the oppressed of all lands who came to make their home with us, and that called upon the other nations to make treaties with us allowing these strangers to forswear their former allegiance and become incorporate with ourselves. We were the first nation to give such splendid, unhindered opportunities to rich and poor through our public schools and through other open channels in business, social, and political life, for all who would and could to rise. Grant that sad and awful mistakes have been made, the great heart of the American people has been right, and it has been a humane heart. It has looked out to the far corners of the earth and invited the burdened of every land to take refuge with us and find a home where they could worship God according to their own consciences, and share in the priceless privileges of self-government. In all this humane attitude we have been signally blessed. The kindness of America has inherited a generous share of all the earth.

I pray God that we may not forget all this and drift away. It has seemed to some of us as though we stood at a parting of the ways. On one side there is a procession, headed as was that procession on the first Palm Sunday of old. Gentleness, kindness, and humanity are enthroned, and they are riding upon the simple, common beasts of every-day life. They hold in their hands nothing but the tools of peace. On the other side a procession is headed by a gay, richly caparisoned war-horse and on it is mounted the figure of "conquest, expansion, and imperialism." These are calculated to strike the imagination. They are much more showy. Pilate and all his descendants would call

them more kingly. There are thoughtless people who fail to see any royalty in the first procession. At this time when many minds are thus falling into confusion, it may be necessary for us to turn back and read again the Constitution of the United States, the Declaration of Independence, and these simple pages of the New Testament, that we may be reminded as to what is splendid and kingly, according to these political and religious authorities.

We read this week in the despatches of Otis and Dewey that the space of a mile square in one of the cities of the Filipinos has been burned to the ground. The places of business and the homes of the helpless poor have been utterly destroyed. The claim has been made that the torch was not applied by an American hand, but we must remember the presence of American troops on an errand of aggression and conquest was the occasion of this unspeakable disaster. And we have abundant testimony as to the destruction wrought by our men. Lieutenant Hayne, of the California Heavy Artillery, U. S. A., located at Manila, writes in a letter to an Oakland friend, "I have seen a real war with all its horrors. I have seen two hundred acres of houses burned. I have put the match myself to houses while old women knelt at my feet sobbing and begging me to spare their shack of palm leaves. I have ordered the destruction of acres of vegetables and fruit trees, which meant months of labor and the only means of living to the poor fellow who was on his knees to me."

We read, also, that this people who, in their desperation have fought for liberty for a hundred years against Spanish domination, are still struggling for the privileges of self-government in a way that touches our American hearts. The very women among the Filipinos have been enlisting; and when their troops were driven back from the trenches, among the bodies of the dead our men found the bodies of women clothed in men's garments and with hair cropped close. They, too, had shouldered their muskets that they might stand beside their husbands and brothers in their pathetic contest for the privilege of governing the soil where they lived. It may be that these ignorant people are misguided and that their estimate of our final purpose is not correct, but the desperation of their struggle against the idea of taxation without representation must touch the hearts of all those who have not forgotten our own war of revolution. Do we want to compel this unwilling people to accept our rule? Do we want to kill, burn, and devastate in order to defeat them in their desperate attempt to gain their freedom from any foreign domina-

tion? I would not allow anyone to surpass me in respect for the Boys in Blue who have bravely gone out at their country's call. When I addressed them upon several occasions last summer, in their camps about the bay, it thrilled me to look into their faces and see, not the dull, coarse expression that one finds in the mercenary soldiers of Europe, but the fine intelligence of my own neighbors and fellow citizens. But while I honor their zeal and their consecration, I could wish that these brave soldier boys were engaged in something better than killing Filipino women and in burning a mile square of the humble homes of the helpless poor!

The despatches further tell us that it is the estimate of Admiral Dewey that two long years will be required to entirely subdue this group of islands to our control. The casualties, when we add up the number of those killed in battle, and those who have died from their wounds, and those who perished by fever and sunstroke, have been at such a rate that it would mean the loss of fifteen thousand American soldiers per year. Are we prepared to condemn thirty thousand of our Boys in Blue to death in the subjugation of those far-away islands of the sea? What principle of political justice or what necessity of national honor requires such costly and cruel sacrifice?

We are told that Spain oppressed these people; but even cruel, ignorant, incompetent Spain has never burned a mile square of their homes in a single day. The death of thirty thousand of our men, on the principle that one American soldier is equal to five savage Filipinos, would mean the death of one hundred and fifty thousand of these uncivilized natives. If we should write that bloody record within the next two years it would eclipse the annals of any cruelty that can be charged for a similar period against Spain!

I listen carefully when men tell us that we are doing all this in the interests of Christian civilization and the evangelization of these benighted people. The Rev. Dr. Wayland Hoyt, of Philadelphia, has vigorously expressed his idea of our opportunity for evangelism. "There never was a more manifest providence than the waving of Old Glory over the Philippines. The only thing we can do is to thrash the natives until they understand who we are. When we have conquered anarchy, then is the time to send Christ there." But I read my New Testament and do not find any such directions given us as to the method to be employed in evangelizing the world. The Old Testament heroes did sometimes enter upon wars of extermination against the Amalekites,

the Hittites, and the Jebusites, but when Jesus came He changed all that, and rebuked those who would mete out such treatment upon their enemies. He did not send out His Apostles to "thrash the Gentiles until they understood who the Christians were," and then to teach them what He had taught them, baptizing them with all His holy helpfulness. That would have seemed a strange order of procedure to the Prince of Peace. I listen while the Congressman from New Hampshire tells us that "we are carrying Christian civilization to the dark corners of the earth; that we go with the Bible in one hand and the rifle in the other; and that if people will not take what is in the Bible they must take what is in the rifle." These are the sad days, alas, when the wretched Filipinos are being compelled to take what is in the rifle. I rejoice in believing that our nation should be a missionary nation. I glory in our missionary usefulness which already is world-wide. The phenomenal success of the representatives of our American churches in Japan, in China, and in India has been, in no small measure, due to the fact that there was no mixture of political and religious ambitions; the people were confident that no plans or purposes of political aggression lurked within the Gospel messages brought by American ministers, teachers, and physicians. For us to depart now from this policy which has been owned and blessed of God, would be a serious blow to the evangelizing power of our churches at home.

It is urged, of course, that Spain was Roman Catholic and that we had to drive her out, and that in this war it is proper for us to destroy the churches she left. Those poor Filipinos, however, are not well up in theology, and I suppose it feels about the same to be shot to death by a man who follows John Calvin as by one who follows Pope Leo the Thirteenth. It is said that Spain is a relic of the Dark Ages and still entangled in the superstitions of despotism. I presume, however, it does not matter much to the unfortunate Filipino whether his home is burned by those who believe in monarchy or by those who believe in the ideas of nineteenth century democracy. The victories that are being won by our troops are not awakening any deep response in the hearts of the American people. Complaint has been made that the Red Cross ladies about our bay have not been so generous and enthusiastic in receiving the troops who came home on the transports as they were when these same regiments embarked for Manila. The change of sentiment and the slackened enthusiasm is significant. There is a feeling abroad that has chilled the former ardor. There is a feeling that somehow, as a Christian

nation, we are seeking to enthrone something other than, and opposed to, the qualities embodied in the King of Kings.

But we are often asked, what should our Government do? I would that we might say to those people, "We have delivered you as we delivered the Cubans from the yoke of Spain; now set up your own government in your own way. We fought for our independence and gained it a hundred years ago, and now we have fought for yours and we leave it in your hands. We will stand by and see that no foreign power molests you. You must work out your own political salvation, and work it out with your own hands and brains. You will undoubtedly make mistakes; you will have revolutions and bloodshed. But the blessings of constitutional liberty and of self-government are always bought with a price, even the price of the blood of many first-born sons."

It is no excuse for our slaughter of the Filipinos for us to plead their alleged incompetency to manage their own affairs. In 1861 a certain great nation had a deadly dispute with itself. The North and the South were arguing out with the awful weapons of war that political principle which we call "States' rights." The lives of almost a million men were sacrificed and thirty-seven hundred millions of dollars were expended in determining which view of that principle should obtain. We would not have thanked any nation on earth to have said to us in those days: "Those American people are not capable of self-government. They are killing each other; their country is torn by rebellion; therefore, we must come in and by our superior force set up our government and manage their affairs for them." Let the Filipinos learn to govern themselves precisely as we learned to govern ourselves, and let us not soil our hands by killing them because they claim in desperation this solemn privilege. I remember it is urged that their leader, Aguinaldo, has once been bribed. Perhaps he was, and, if so, it was a grievous fault and grievously has Aguinaldo answered it. But here, at home, we do not kill men nor burn their towns because they have been bribed. If such were our settled policy, what awful conflagrations and what dreadful slaughter might have marked some of our state capitals!

We announced at the beginning that this was a war for humanity and not for conquest; it was to deliver men from oppression but not to shoot them down or to compel them against their wills to submit to our rule. To me there is something more splendid than any conquest that we might win, and that is for a nation to keep its word. The oppressor has been driven out, and now, with a simple note of warning to other nations to keep

their hands off, and with the retention of a coaling station for our future convenience, I would that we might come back and pay the bills incurred in our work of deliverance, and allow these men in their own way by such outlay of treasure and of blood on their own part as might be necessary, to solve for themselves the questions of self-government.

The lesson, then, that I would leave with you on this Palm Sunday is the sacred importance of enthroning the peaceful measures of humanity and gentleness. Our national influence ought to enter the cities of the world as Jesus entered Jerusalem of old. The battle-ship "Iowa" lying yonder in our harbor, is a splendid creation of iron and steel. One cannot but admire the skill, intelligence, and ability that created it. But we must judge ships as we judge men—by their hearts. The great ship was built to destroy; it was meant to threaten with force and when not obeyed, to kill. To me there is something more splendid than that. The humblest truck that carries coal through our streets to warm some poor man's home or cook his dinner is a nobler creation of human skill than any battle-ship. The standards by which Christians judge are those of the Son of Man who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. The ships that go out the Golden Gate loaded with wheat to feed the hunger of the world, and the schooners that come in bearing lumber to build the homes where families shall live in the enjoyment of peace, are a thousand-fold more beautiful than all the battle-ships of the line.

When the kings of old entered their capital cities they brought their trophies; they had other kings and queens chained to their chariot wheels and long lines of captives marching in to be sold in the slave markets. When Christ came He also brought His trophies, but they were trophies of life. He was followed by lepers cleansed and made ready to associate with their fellow beings; by deaf men whose ears he had unstopped; by the blind whose eyes had been opened; and by sinners whose sins had been forgiven. What a procession it was! What a procession it always is when the spirit and method of Christ march at the head! True Christian civilization must ever follow Him. It must go not mounted upon fierce war-horses of conquest, it must go riding upon the ordinary beasts of burden, upon the appliances of peaceful and productive life. Its royalty must lie in its humanity and then angels and men will welcome it with palm branches, and will cry, "Behold, our King cometh unto us in gentleness. Blessed are the gentle, for they are inheriting the earth."

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

"IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY"

DUTCH COLONIZERS IN MALAYSIA

ANNEXATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

BY

JOHN J. VALENTINE

PRESIDENT OF WELLS FARGO & COMPANY

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

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PREFACE.

The United States of America is confronted by a crisis the most grave and serious since the dawn of its history. We are brought face to face with the portentous significance of the maxim "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." In short we have come to a parting of the ways, and the problem to be solved is whether we shall remain an American Democracy, or become a new-born Hydra of Plutocratic Imperialism.

In presenting my own views on this issue, I have, as is my practice in writing, drawn freely from any source elucidative of my subject, and amongst those not directly credited I wish to make thankful acknowledgements to Mr. Chas. Francis Adams, Mr. George Gunton and Mr. Carl Schurz.

JNO. J. VALENTINE.

SAN FRANCISCO,
February 18, 1899.

"Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. Let him duly realize that his opinion is a unit of force, constituting, with other such units, the general power which works out social changes. It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities, and aspirations, and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of the time. He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future; and that his thoughts are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die."—*Herbert Spencer.*

SIDE LIGHT FROM HISTORY.

The Romans were at war with the Tarentines, who, not being able to go on with the war, nor yet, through the foolhardiness, and the viciousness of their popular speakers, to come to terms and give it up, proposed now to make Pyrrhus their general, and engage him in it, as of all the neighboring kings the most at leisure, and the most skilful as a commander. The more grave and discreet citizens opposing these counsels, were partly overborne by the noise and violence of the multitude; while others, seeing this, absented themselves from the assemblies; only one, Meton, a very sober man, on the day this public decree was to be ratified, when the people were now seating themselves, came dancing into the assembly like one quite drunk, with a withered garland and a small lamp in his hand, and a woman playing on a flute before him. And as in great multitudes met at such popular assemblies, no decorum can be well observed, some clapped him, others laughed, none forbade him, but called to the woman to play, and to him to sing to the company, and when they thought he was going to do so, "'Tis only right of you, O men of Tarentum," he said, "not to hinder any from making themselves merry, that have a mind to it, while it is yet in their power; and if you are wise, you will take out your pleasure of your freedom while you can, for you must change your course of life, and follow other diet when Pyrrhus comes to town." These words made a great impression upon many of the Tarentines and a confused murmur went about that he had spoken much to the purpose; but some who feared they should be sacrificed if a peace were made with the Romans, reviled the whole assembly for so tamely suffering themselves to be abused by a drunken sot, and crowding together upon Meton, thrust him out. So the public order was passed, and ambassadors sent into Epirus, not only in their own names, but in those of all the Italian Greeks, carrying presents to Pyrrhus, and letting him know they wanted a general of reputation and experience; and that they could furnish him with large forces of Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, amounting to 20 thousand horse, and 350 thousand foot. This did not only quicken Pyrrhus, but raised an eager desire, for the expedition in the Epirots.

There was one Cineas, a Thessalian, considered to be a man of very good sense, a disciple of the great orator Demosthenes, who of all that were famous at that time for speaking well, most seemed, as in a picture, to revive in the minds of the audience the memory of his force and vigor of eloquence, and being always about Pyrrhus, and sent about in his service to several cities verified the saying of Euripides, that

* * * "the force of words
Can do what e'er is done by conquering swords."

And Pyrrhus was used to say, that Cineas had taken more towns with his words than with his arms, and always did him the honor to employ him in

his most important occasions. This person, seeing Pyrrhus eagerly prepari for Italy, led him one day when he was at his leisure into the following reaso ings: "The Romans, sir, are reported to be great warriors and conquerors many warlike nations; if God permit us to overcome them, how should use our victory?" "You ask," said Pyrrhus, "a thing evident of itself. T Romans once conquered, there is neither Greek nor barbarian city that w resist us, but we shall presently be masters of all Italy, the extent and resour and strength of which any one should rather profess to be ignorant of th yourself." Cineas, after a little pause, "And having subdued Italy, what sh we do next?" Pyrrhus, not yet discovering his intention, "Sicily," replied, "next holds out her arms to receive us, a wealthy and populous islan and easily to be gained; for since Agathocles left it, only faction and anarch and the licentious violence of the demagogues prevail." "You speak," sa Cineas, "what is perfectly probable, but will the possession of Sicily put end to the war?" "God grant us," answered Pyrrhus, "victory and succe in that, and we will use these as forerunners of greater things; who cou forbear from Libya and Carthage then within reach, which Agathocles, ev when forced to fly from Syracuse, and passing the sea only with a few shi had all but surprised? These conquests once perfected, will any assert that the enemies who now pretend to despise us, any one will dare to make furth resistance?" "None," replied Cineas, "for then it is manifest we may wi such mighty forces regain Macedon, and make an absolute conquest of Gree and when all these are in our power, what shall we do then?" Said Pyrrh smiling, "we will live at our ease, my dear friend, and drink all day, and div ourselves with pleasant conversation." When Cineas had led Pyrrhus with l argument to this point: "And what hinders us now, sir, if we had a mind to merry, and entertain one another, since we have at hand without trouble those necessary things, to which through much blood and great labor, a infinite hazards and mischief done to ourselves and to others, we design last to arrive?"

Such reasonings rather troubled Pyrrhus with the thought of the happin he was quitting, than any way altered his purpose, being unable to aband the hopes of what he so much desired—the innate disease of Princes bei ambition of greater empire.——*Plutarch's "Life of Pyrrhus."*

Pyrrhus passed three years in Sicily but though want of political t gave offense to the Greek cities, which he treated too much in the fashion of despot, not paying any respect to their local constitutions, customs, usag etc., or harmonizing their democratic tastes and love of freedom. He w killed at Argos at forty-six years of age.

"IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY."

DUTCH COLONIZERS IN MALAYSIA.

American occupation of Manila very forcibly brings to our attention the question of reputed benefits accruing to Orientals in the appropriation of their lands and the enslavement of their peoples by European powers. The advocates of expansion, who, by the way, are actuated more by motives of prospective pecuniary gain than by sentiments of loyalty to our Republic or solicitude for the Filipinos or Cubans, cite for strikingly convincing arguments the Dutch as "peaceful colonizers," and their gem possession, Java.

While in the Orient last spring among other books of travel I came upon one descriptive of Java by Miss Scidmore, containing many facts concerning the alleged civilizing influence of Dutch rule, a few of which I think may not be uninteresting, considering the mad craze for expansion, so-called Imperialism, now prevailing in the United States.

The history of Netherlands India—the Dutch Colonies in Malaysia—is a light and shadow picture. Its bright side depicts the wealthy plantation owner in Europe surrounded by every luxury of his home land, annually in receipt of millions of guilders from his East Indian plantations. The contrast is found in the humid tropic lands, where some 30,000,000 patient, cowed Malays, working under the harsh supervision of agents, produce the wealth that rightfully is theirs, because earned by them on lands which have been wrested or tricked from them and held by the foreigners at the expense of thousands of lives annually among the white troops sent out to maintain a usurped supremacy, gained grad-

ually over the unsuspecting and friendly natives by false pledges, broken promises and ultimately by force of arms.

The story of Netherlands India is told in that of Java, the garden of the East, the finest and most fascinating tropical island of the world—best known because more frequently visited than Amboyna, Borneo, the Celebes and Sumatra, the other island possessions to which the Dutch lay claim. The population of Java, 24,000,000, is greater than the total of all the other islands in the Indian ocean, and it has a total area equal only to that of New York State. Early in the last century it was a source of yearly remittances of millions of guilders to Holland. In addition to this the colony was drained to pay enormous sums to defray the cost of extravagant local administration, the Dutch Governor receiving a yearly salary equivalent to $100,000, and additionally $60,000 for expensive entertainments. Twenty-six local governors were each paid $10,000 a year and given liberal allowances for incidental expenses. Besides this an army of 30,000 men, one-third of whom were foreigners recruited in Holland, was thrown upon the support of this little island, not larger than New York State. Think of it!

When it becomes necessary to levy some new tax, the native is asked for proof of title to his land and for a declaration of its producing capacity; also how much he thinks he ought to pay. The unsophisticated Javanese usually replies TEN PER CENT, and he is assessed accordingly and must be contented, for he named the tax himself. The Dutch official sits daily in the shade of the cement portico of the tiny town hall, watching the natives, who from their palm-leaf bags build up piles of copper and silver in payment of their taxes.

The Javanese rank after the Japanese, as the most attractive, gentle and innately refined people of the Far East. They are the finer flower of the Malay race and incline to Moslemism, if anything, but take their religion lightly, and are so lukewarm in "The Fire and Sword" faith that they would easily relapse into their former mild Brahmanism if Islam's power were withdrawn. The Dutch have always prohibited pilgrim-

ages to Mecca, because those returning with the green turban were viewed with reverence and accredited with supernatural powers, which made their influence a menace to Dutch rule.

The language of these people is soft and musical,—the Italian of the tropics—their ideas are poetic and their love of flowers, perfumes, music, dancing, heroic plays and emotional art of every description proves them highly esthetic. Their reverence for rank and age, coupled with an elaborate etiquette and punctillious courtesy to one another, marked even in the common people, when contrasted with their abject crouching humility before their despotic Dutch masters, are themes for sad reflection and arouse just indignation. The sight of quiet, inoffensive peddlers, who beseech chiefly with their eyes, being furiously kicked out of a hotel courtyard or any other public place, when Mynheer does not choose to buy, causes the casual looker-on to recoil; but to see little native children actually lifted by the ear and hurled away from a humble vantage point on the curbstone to make way for a pajamaed Dutchman who wishes to view some troops that may be marching by, makes one sick at heart.

Said a Dutch official to a visitor: "I noticed you looked at the WHIPPING-POST in the jail. Yes; we sometimes flog them lightly. If a man on parole does not return to the jail in time a gendarme generally finds him in his hut and brings him back, when, as he expects, he gets a few lashes. We don't punish severely—they would never forget that." Query: CAN THEY EVER FORGET THE INDIGNITY OF A SINGLE LASH, WHICH THOUGH LIGHTLY LAID ON YET STIFLES OR DESTROYS THE SPIRIT OF MANHOOD?

The colonists (I quote liberally) do not welcome or encourage tourists. The Dutch brain is slow and suspicious, and they firmly believe that no stranger comes to Java on errand friendly to the colonizers. Within twenty-four hours after arrival the colonial authorities insist upon knowing the object of his visit. All returning travelers dwell upon the conditions due to the acts of the rapacious and merciless Hollanders who

have gone to the tropics, 9000 miles away from home, to acquire an empire by enslaving a race and inflicting their hampering customs and restrictions even upon casual visitors.

Until recently no steps were taken to educate the Javanese, and previous to 1864 they were not allowed to study the Dutch language. All colonial officers are obliged to learn low Malay, that being the recognized language of administration and justice, instead of the many Javanese and Sudanese dialects, with their two forms of polite and common speech. The few Javanese, even those of highest rank, who acquired the Dutch language and attempted to employ it in conversation with officials were bruskly answered in Malay—an implication that the superior language was reserved for Europeans only. This helped the conquerors to keep the line of distinction between them and their subject people clearly and sharply drawn and while the Dutch could understand what the natives were saying they have their own talk always without reserve in a tongue foreign to servants or even Malay princes.

Dutch is now taught in the schools maintained for natives by the colonial government. Two hundred and one primary schools were opened in 1887, with an attendance of 39,707 pupils. The higher schools of Batavia have been opened to the sons of native officials and such rich Javanese as can afford them. Conservatives lament the "spoiling of the natives" by all that the government does for them. They complain that the Javanese are becoming too independent since schoolmasters, independent planters and tourists came. The "Samarang Handelsblad" newspaper comments as follows :

"The Javanese can no longer be led and driven with facility as a flock of sheep, however much we may deplore this change in their disposition. They now come freely into contact with Europeans, the education given them has had an effect, and communication has been rendered easy. They do not fear the Europeans as they formerly did. The time is past when the entire population of a village could be driven with a stick to a far-off plantation—the pruning knife and the ax would be quickly turned against the driver in these latter days. *They*

no longer believe that the European is interested in their welfare, and are well aware that they are cheated out of a large proportion of the value of the coffee harvest. However much the colonist may regret it, the period of darkness is passing away and the time of coercion in Java giving place to better conditions, and any attempt to stay the tide of progress will only call forth the enmity of the natives. The Malay spirit of revenge has done much, perhaps, to bring about the present governmental era of comparative kindness, fair-dealing and justice in Java." The state committee on government coffee plantations says in its latest reports: "If the native has not become more progressive and sensible, he is, at least, wiser in matters about which he should be kept in the dark, unless the government means to remove coercion at the expense of the exchequer."

The Army of the Netherlands is well paid and cared for. After the Indian Mutiny the Dutch were in great fear of an uprising in Java and placed less confidence in native troops. Only Europeans can hold officers' commissions. The native troops are all Mohammedan; care is exercised to prevent natives of any one district or province from composing a majority in any regiment, and they are frequently changed from one post to another.

The Dutch officials condescend equally to the rich planters and the native princes, while the planters hate and deride the officials, and the natives hate the Dutch of either class and despise their own princes who are subservient to the foreigners. *The wars and jealousies of rank and race, and the caste distinction resulting from the intermingling of the white and the dark races, flourish with tropical luxuriance.*

The Dutch do not allow the yellow colonials (Arabs and Chinese and their offspring) so-called European freedom, an expression which constitutes a sufficient admission of the existence of restraint over the Asiatics. The native hatred of the Chinese is the inheritance of those past centuries when the Dutch farmed out the revenue to Chinese. Under this system the Chinese were given thousands of acres of land with its concommitant servile Malay labor. These boundaries were grad-

ually extended and by increased exactions and secret levies the wretched natives were oppressed by their Asiatic brethren in a manner that the tyranny and rapacity of the Dutch never approached. To-day the Chinese hold financial supremacy over both Dutch and natives, in appreciation of which they are unmercifully taxed by the Dutch. Formerly the Celestials were assessed according to the length of their queues and for each long finger nail. They are mulcted on arrival and departure, for births, deaths, and for every business privilege. In 1740 the Chinese fomented insurrection against the Dutch, joining with the disaffected natives. They intrenched themselves in a suburban fort which the Dutch invested, and the 20,000 Chinese then within the walls were put to death, neither age nor sex being spared.

Many officials and planters have married native wives and in the eyes of the law these wives enjoy the privileges in full of Europeans. No native man is allowed to marry or employ a European, not even as a tutor or governess, and no such subversion of social order as the employment of a European servant is to be thought of. The laws allow a European to put away his native wife, to be legally divorced from her upon the slightest pretext, or to abandon her and her children with small risk of their obtaining redress.

Railway trains in Java do not run at night, (though night service would be a great advantage in a hot country), for the reason that train crews are composed entirely of natives (such work being considered beneath the dignity of Europeans), and the cautious Dutch will not trust native engineers after dark.

Dutch affairs in Sumatra are not so prosperous. In 1872 the Dutch received Sumatra from the English in exchange for the imaginary rights of Holland in Ashantee and the Gold Coast of Africa. The natives of Sumatra, warned by the sad fate of the Javanese, have resisted, and the warfare is still in progress. Dutch commanders are well satisfied to hold their chain of forts along the western hills. In the province of Atcheen the war has been almost continuous, and the native population has in thirty years been reduced from

450 thousand to less than 300 thousand. *In one of four years of the war, seventy million guilders were spent and seventy out of every hundred Dutch soldiers succumbed to the climate before going into an encounter.*

At Batavia, the principal city of Java, which was originally situated in the midst of a deadly swamp, the mortality was appalling and the settlement in its early years was known as the graveyard of Europeans. Dutch records show that at Batavia 1,119,375 deaths occurred between the years 1730 and 1752, or in 22 years; and 87,000 soldiers and sailors died in the government hospitals between the years 1714 and 1776.

To indicate the small percentage of Whites to Malays, I mention, in passing, that at the present time the total population of the district known as the Malay Straits Settlements is probably 550 thousand, of whom not four thousand are Whites.

"Our attention in these days is frequently called to the admirable, and, in many respects, successful administrative machinery introduced by Great Britain in India. But it must not be forgotten that this machinery was evolved from several centuries of rapine, corruption, disastrous blunders, savage struggles, murderous revolts and indescribable cruelties, and that even now many wise men in England gravely doubt in their hearts whether it was best for their country to undertake the conquest of India at all, and are troubled by gloomy forebodings of a calamitous catastrophe that may some day engulf that splendid fabric of Asiatic dominion."

A word as to colonies further north: Macao, a Portuguese settlement, founded 350 years ago on a little peninsula some 50 miles south of Hong Kong, has a population of 80,000; of whom 75,000 are Asiatics—Chinese, Siamese, a few Filipinos and Japanese, and the usual quota of half castes, leaving but 5000 people who may be classed as Europeans. This colony has a Portuguese Governor-General and a body of troops, and its administration is but a travesty on colonial management. The greatest local revenue is derived from the licenses issued to keepers of Chinese gambling houses, where fan tan is played,

and probably the next largest incomes accrue from opium boiling licenses and the monopoly controlling 'riksha rentals.

Hong Kong, the brightest jewel in Britain's imperial colonial crown, more properly called the Victoria Colony, on the little island at the mouth of the Pearl River, is one of the world's greatest entrepôts—a free port—and has a population of 250,000, only 10,000 of whom are Whites. Here, as in ALL Oriental colonies, there is no opportunity afforded the White laboring man to earn a livelihood. To illustrate by just one example: the Hong Kong Metropolitan Dock Co., has seven docks, and large machine shops; employing in round figures 8000 Chinese. All these are directed and controlled by only half a dozen Caucasians. Most of the steamer lines sailing from the Orient, including the three companies running thence to San Francisco, are manned by Asiatic crews.

These facts I present for the consideration of the laboring men of the United States of America.

In discussing the question of making tropical colonies commercially profitable, and taking the Congo Free State, because of its freedom from national rivalries, as a fair example, Mr. Courtney, President of the Royal Statistical Society of Great Britain, says that nine out of every ten Europeans going to tropical colonies are either buried or return home invalided within three years; that the largest of the 120 Belgian trading companies maintains a service of only seven months out of every twenty-four. Against such a death rate no commercial profits can be shown. The daring colonizers have labored and perished in vain. The trade of the country (Congo Free State) costing so much in life and treasure remains insignificant, being only seven-tenths of one per cent of Belgian commerce. (*The exports of the United States of America to the Philippines are only four one-hundredths of one per cent of our country's total exports.*) The same amount of energy and money spent in the development of industries at home, would have resulted in a far greater development of Belgian commerce, whereas the colonial venture has only proven delusive and disastrous.

In Mexico the topographical structure of the country is such as to divide it naturally into three well-defined altitudinal climatic sections—the first, sea level to about 2500 feet above is known as the *tierra caliente* (hot); the second, 2500 to 5000 feet altitude, the *tierra templada* (temperate), and the third, 5000 feet and upward, the *tierra fria* (cool). The "Tierra Caliente" of Yucatan, Campeachy and Tabasco is the Van Dieman's land of Mexico, to which, from the cool or temperate upland zones, certain offenders are exiled to eke out their existence—if they can live at all—under the hot, debilitating conditions of an extreme tropical climate. It is a tradition that the sacrifice of human life in the construction of the Panama Railroad across the Isthmus of Darien from Colon or Aspinwall on the Atlantic, to Panama on the Pacific, was equal to a man for every cross tie that lies in the road. And it is to such places, and subject to such climatic conditions that our crusade for Glory, Expansion, "Imperial Democracy," is exiling the flower of our youth.

According to a San Francisco Journal of February 7th, "The Commanding General of the United States forces now in Cuba, has reported that fifty per cent of the American troops on the Island are on the sick list."

When the Government of the United States dispatches shipload after shipload of unacclimated young men to the everglades and jungles of tropical swamps, whether in the East Indies or West Indies, it is consigning the flower of American youth to unimaginable suffering and too often, alas! to hapless and inglorious death.

Do you think this is overdrawn? Do you think this is an extreme view of the case? Let me quote a sketch by an eye-witness, a well-known New York writer, of the embarking of sick and wounded soldiers on board a transport hospital ship homeward bound.

"That day strange figures began to mount the sides of the ship, and to occupy its every turn and angle of space. Some of them fell on their knees and slapped the bare deck with their hands, and laughed and cried out, 'Thank God,

I'll see God's country again!' Some of the men were regulars, bound in bandages; some were volunteers, dirty and hollow-eyed, with long beards on boy's faces. Some came on crutches; others with their arms around the shoulders of their comrades, staring ahead of them with a fixed smile, their lips drawn and their teeth protruding. At every second step they stumbled, and the face of each man was swept by swift ripples of pain. They lay on cots so close together that the nurses could not walk between them. They lay on the wet decks, in the scuppers, and along the skylights and hatches. They were like shipwrecked mariners clinging to a raft, and they asked nothing more than that the ship's bow be turned toward home."

This is Glory—this is Expansion—this is "Imperial Democracy."

But to resume on the subject of Java: The record of mission work is a short one, as after casting out the Portuguese Jesuits, the Dutch forbade others to enter, and all missionaries were strictly excluded until the humanitarian agitation took place in Europe. This resulted in the formal abolition of slavery and the abandonment of the Culture System while it forced the government to do a little for the Christianizing and educating of the natives. The government supports twenty-nine Protestant pastors and ten Roman Catholic priests, primarily for the benefit of European residents, and their sphere of usefulness is restricted; proselyting and sectarian rivalries being forbidden. Missionaries from other countries are not allowed to settle and work among the people. THE DUTCH DO NOT POSE AS PHILANTHROPISTS NOR PRETEND TO BE IN JAVA FOR THE GOOD OF THE NATIVES. THEIR DOMINION IS ONE OF POWER; THEIR GOVERNMENT, A DESPOTISM.

A few words on the Culture System, or ENFORCED LABOR: The Dutch East India Company acquired control of Java through pioneer preemption, purchase, conquest, strategy and unfair diplomacy. One-fifth of the native's labor and one-fifth of his crops were exacted by the government as ground

rent. Each family was required to keep one thousand coffee trees in bearing condition on village lands, and two-fifths of the crop, clear and sorted, was to be delivered at the government warehouses. As late as 1830 the natives were obliged to plant one-fifth of the village lands in sugar cane and each man had to give one day's labor in seven to cultivating the same. Each native was obliged to plant six hundred Arabian or Mocha coffee trees, keep them in bearing condition and deliver the crop cleaned and sorted at the government warehouses at a price fixed by the Dutch officials. Previous to 1874 nine to twelve guilders per picul (133 lbs.) were paid, although forty to forty-five was the price in open market. (A guilder is equal to 40 cents.) The great double post road from Anger Head to Banyuwangy was constructed at the cost of 20,000 lives, under this system of enforced labor. Laboring men of the northern races never did and never will go there or to other tropical climates, *en masse*, to do the work of the country, agricultural or industrial, there to found permanent homes; and this not merely because the rate of wages in such countries, owing to native competition, is usually low, but because they cannot thrive under the climatic conditions.

Into the despotic clutch of Enforced Labor, or a contract system to exploit humankind in the interest of capital, through oriental conquest, the freedom-loving citizens of the United States are sought to be dragooned under the specious pleas of Glory, Expansion,—"Imperial Democracy." Will this scheme for the BETRAYAL OF DEMOCRACY succeed? If it does, it will be a crime against the human race.

To neglect the industrial and social conditions at home is to sap the very foundations of national power and progress. The Philippines would add one more problem to political government, one more problem of industrial slavery, one more problem of social barbarism to the list we have already confronting us. There is nothing morally, socially, politically, or industrially in the situation which would make it to the advantage of the United States to annex them. Our duty to mankind is FIRST OF ALL TO MAINTAIN OUR

OWN CIVILIZATION, and that is quite enough to tax us to the utmost. James Brice, in HARPER'S MAGAZINE for September, wisely says: "The United States will render a far greater service to humanity by developing a high type of industrial civilization on her own continent, a civilization conspicuously free, enlightened and pacific, than by any foreign conquests."

And what of the subjugated peoples? I extract from the press despatches reporting the battle of February 5th, at Manila:

"The engagement proved a veritable slaughter of Filipinos, thousands of them being killed. General King's brigade charged upon a numerically stronger force of the enemy and drove them yelling, helter-skelter into the Pasig river, where, in a frenzy of terror, they were drowned like rats. The Americans are buoyantly elated over the punishment they have given the treacherous natives."

"The account of 700 Ygorote tribesmen, naked and opposing their bows and arrows to the rifles and cannons of the Americans, in a desperate but hopeless attempt to hold their ground, is wonderfully pathetic. 'On all sides,' says one report, 'were lying dead natives, their bodies, in some instances, being full of bullet holes.' Again: 'I saw a number of bodies which had been literally torn into shreds by the fire from the war-ships. In some places the shells had torn great holes in the earth and around them were scattered dead bodies. On all sides the scene was one of terrible desolation.'"

But the Filipino has a right to be heard! Even in the days of Nero that most despised of all beings, a Christian, had the right of appeal to Cæsar.

The Filipino agents say the Americans placed vessels along the shores of the bay and commenced hostilities unexpectedly at midnight on Saturday, simultaneously bombarding the defenseless towns of Fondo, Malak and Malabon. "The slaughter of women and children was frightful, the Americans burning and devastating all before them, conducting a war of extermination and shooting every Filipino."

Suppose a similar conflict with the so-called "Insurgents" of Cuba and such a wholesale slaughter had been reported from Havana in 1897, as the work of Captain-General Weyler —what would Americans have said? Would they not in holy horror have at once denounced him as a "Butcher?"

"The expansionist clergymen, who have been most enthusiastic about Christianizing and civilizing the natives must concede that it is a pity we are compelled to begin this benign work by shooting the Filipinos full of rifle bullets or blowing them to pieces with shells."

Prospective events and the status existing to February 18th are summarized by one of our morning papers thus: "The arrival of re-enforcements, which is now a matter of daily expectation, would give General Otis the use of flying columns and probably enable him to PACIFY Luzon—*and after that the rest of the group in short order.*"

To which I would remark that "Freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell", and ORDER reigned in Warsaw—when Poland was PACIFIED!

I will add Rudyard Kipling's words:

"By all ye will or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent sullen peoples
Shall weigh your God and you."

To return again to Java: The spirit of the age is beginning to reach there, in fact, suggestions for its actual autonomy have been uttered. There are ominous signs everywhere, and the ruling power finds its petty remnant of coffee culture and grocery business a more vexing and difficult venture each year.

Whether, as pessimists foretell, a Mohammedan rebellion shall desolate the island; whether it will remain in Dutch leading strings; arrive at even the limited independence of a British colony, or succumb to Germany's colonial ambitions, (as the French so freely prophesy), Java seems destined soon to

put forth larger claims to the world's attention and occ
a time at least, a prominent place on its stage of actio

If Americans think or imagine that they would do
than or even as well as the Dutch, English or French, t
mistaken. Let us consider the treatment of the North A
Indians. The justice of the United States Government
a rule, given way to the clamor of greedy men for posse
their lands, until the Indians are now, with but few exce
driven back on to poor, barren reservations, where it
be difficult for skilled white men to make a living. I
the press reports ten thousand of them moving fr
United States to Mexico. General Nelson A. Miles, re
to the Indian problem, is reported to have said, "The
of broken promises on the part of the Government are
all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

By consulting the pamphlets and leaflets issued by th
pel Union of the United States on the subject of the "I
of America," it will be seen that we have not provided f
own. To the case of the Indians may be added the sit
or plight of our Negro population. But above and beyon
failure to properly care for these two races within our ow
fines, police reports and criminal statistics indisputably
that we are not looking after the moral welfare of our own

The possibilities of progress in an Oriental peopl
strikingly illustrated by the achievements of the Jap
within the thirty years that have elapsed since the revol
which resulted in the overthrow of the Shogun or T
power and the adoption of a constitution and the estal
ment of parliamentary government. After suffering for
years the grossest injustice in the way of a tariff status
tically imposed by Great Britain and the United States
participated in by other nations, an injustice which
denounced by eminent and rightly inclined Americans, the
anese, by a long course of insistence, have come at last t
partial attainment of some of the common international r

of nations, and this fact is really the ground for the present general disparagement of that people by the resident and hitherto specially favored and deferred-to foreigners, whether American, British, French, Dutch, or of any other nationality.

There are no European colonies in Oriental—tropical—lands, in the true and just sense of the word. There are only military settlements and despotic dominion. The exploitations of European colonizing nations have always been and will continue to be for the benefit of the few—the high civil and military officials sent out by the home government and the plantation owners and rich traders—at the expense of the toiling many, the subjugated people, and the common soldiers also, who, in the fulfillment of their mission to terrorize the natives into a state of abject subjugation, fall victims to climatic ills during their enforced stay in a region never intended for the abiding place of the white man; likewise to disease and pernicious practices peculiar to the indolence of Oriental life. But the day, let us hope, is not far distant when other of these Eastern peoples will follow in the footsteps of the erstwhile docile and submissive Japanese, and like them assert their right to take their respective places among the nations of the earth, and to live and RULE in the lands of their ancestors, unmolested by the domineering selfish intervention of the interloping Caucasian.

The press dispatches report President McKinley as saying the Filipinos *must* submit to the authority of the United States government. I do not know that Captain-General Weyler ever demanded more of Cuba for Spain, and this raises not only an ethical question, but a political principle of the most vital import—the inextinguishable love of liberty inherent in the human breast. It not only raises such questions, but it brings to light some of the skeletons of the past, gaunt spectres with gory locks, looking out at us through the mists of memory; long buried ghosts that will not down.

An orthodox clergyman had been in the habit of visiting Old John Brown, of Harper's Ferry, Va., fame, in his prison cell and endeavoring to minister to him the comforts of religion. On one of these occasions he volunteered his services as an attendant on the scaffold. The rugged old hero interposed the question, "Do you believe Slavery is sanctioned by religion?" On being answered in the affirmative, Brown declined to have anything further to do with him as a spiritual adviser, saying that henceforth he could regard him only as a heathen gentleman—not as a Christian.

Whittier has immortalized the incident in verse;

> "John Brown of Ossawatomie spake on his dying day:
> 'I will not have to shrive my soul a priest in slavery's pay
> But let some poor slave-mother whom I have striven to free
> With her children, from the gallows-stair put up a prayer for me.'"

Of events subsequent to the execution, Thoreau said:

"All is quiet at Harper's Ferry, say the journals. What is the character of that calm which follows when the law and the slave holder prevail? *I regard this event as a touchstone designed to bring out with glaring distinctness the character of this government. We needed to be thus assisted to see it by the light of history. It needed to see itself.* When a government puts forth its strength on the side of injustice it reveals itself simply as brute force. It is more manifest than ever that tyranny rules. When you have caught and hung all its human rebels you have accomplished nothing but your own guilt. You have not struck at the fountain head. The same indignation which cleared the temple once will clear it again."

At Atlanta, Ga., recently, the President of the United States, pointing towards Manila, said: "Our flag is there; who will haul it down?" If Americans of to-day have not become degenerate sons of illustrious sires, but still love freedom and cherish the spirit that animated their forefathers at Independence Hall and Valley Forge, they will see to it that it is hauled

down. The American flag was not unfurled to the world's admiration as the symbol of brute force, but as the emblem of deathless devotion to liberty and light.

"Flag of the free! flaunt not the creed
Of men who war for gain or greed;
For not the victor's symbol thou—
Before which subject races bow,
Thy stars still teach us to aspire."

"Oh flag! baptized through thronging years
In fire, in blood, in holy tears—
In freedom's name—for freedom's fame—
By the dear land we love to name—
Thy glory shall not be our shame."

LIVERMORE, CAL., February 24, 1899

MR. JOHN J. VALENTINE,
San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir:—Allow me, though not having the honor of knowing you personally, to address a few lines to you.

I want to express my admiration of the interesting lecture delivered by you on "Imperial Democracy" [Dutch Colonisers in Malaysia], of which I read a resumé in last night's "*Bulletin*."

Being born and raised in Holland, where eight years ago I graduated as a physician at the University of Leiden, I claim to be a good and competent judge of one of the most striking features of your lecture, viz: the disastrous effect of a tropical climate on the white race.

As a physician I could corroborate you by my own experience in the years I was a student at Leiden, where existed also a college for the education of officers for our colonies in the Dutch East Indies.

How many of my friends at that University, splendid specimens of manhood, the flower of the country, the pride of their parents and professors, with a brilliant future before them, favored by the most auspicious official positions in the gift of the Colonial Government, came back after a lapse of five years from our "Insulinde" as mere wrecks, broken down in health, ruined for life and many times victims of the accursed morphine habit!

I could write about many, many girls in Holland, who strong, healthy and beautiful, left for Java to join their future husbands, and after two or three years of life under the Equator, came home weak, debilitated and suffering from the bad effects that a tropical climate can cause on members of the fair sex. In the Dutch East Indies Europeans only survive to the second generation. A third generation is unknown.

A common saying in Holland is, "If you had murdered your father and mother you are yet too good to be sent to the East Indies."

But I don't want to take too much of your valuable time. I conclude with the fervent hope that your efforts and those of many others, all over this grand and liberty-loving country, to stir up the people, will check the imperial aspirations of my adopted country, and that the eyes of our government in Washington will be opened in time to see the abyss threatening.

Very respectfully yours,

JOS. M. BENKERS, M. D

"IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY."

ANNEXATION OF THE PHILIPPINES.

INTRODUCTION.

It is the fad of the hour to condemn Spain and everything Spanish in season and out of season. Before Peter was summoned to Joppa to minister to the Centurion Cornelius, an object lesson was presented to him out of Heaven in order to overcome certain of his race prejudices—he saw a vision, the moral of which, as told by a supernatural voice, was sufficient intimation to him that such discrimination was reprehensible. Shakespeare, in "As You Like It," makes Orlando say that he will chide no breather in the world, save himself, of whom he knew most faults. I have journeyed much and in many lands, and can truthfully say that, so far as I have met them, I have never known more worthy gentlemen or more admirable women than the Spaniards, Mexicans, and descendants of those who originally colonized California, and I am proud to believe that I can number amongst these good people hosts of whole-hearted, chivalrous friends. As to the place of the Spanish-American people in the history of America, I am in accord with Mr. Chas. F. Lummis's views as expressed in his charming book, "The Awakening of a Nation,"— Mexico. Mr. Lummis says:

"The seal of Spain is upon all things that she has ever touched. To the thoughtful, few side-lights in history are

more striking than this vital individuality of the Spaniard. Whatever page he opened in the New World, he wrote across it his racial autograph in a hand so virile and so characteristic that neither time nor change can efface it. Three centuries and a half of continuous evolution have not availed to make that rubric illegible or mistakable. He mastered every country between us and Patagonia; and there is no land in which he ever sat down which does not to this last day bear in its very marrow the heritage of his religion, his language, and his social creed. His *Marca* is upon the faces, the laws, the very landscapes.

"How significant this is we may better judge when we remember that the Saxon, masterful though he is, has never anywhere achieved these results. He has filled new lands with his speech and his faith (or his lack of it), but only by filling them with his own blood—(*or that of his victims*) never by changing the native. The United States, for instance, is of his speech; but what Indian tribe ever spoke English? In the vastly greater area of Spanish-America every Indian tribe speaks Spanish, and has done so for centuries. The Saxon has never impressed his language or his religion upon the people he has overrun. Something of his face goes to the half-breeds he begets and will not father; but even this physical impress is less marked than in the case of his Latin predecessor; for he himself, of course, is a less fixed type."

Of the 14 million of population in Mexico, the masses to the number of 10 million are chiefly Indian, and the presence in their daily life of the most attractive qualities of human kind are notable. Let me here apply some words of Mr. Hopkinson Smith, in the "White Umbrella in Mexico:"

"A distinct and peculiar people. An unselfish, patient, tender-hearted people, of great personal beauty, courage and refinement. A people offering instantly to the stranger and wayfarer on the very threshold of their homes a hospitality so

generous, accompanied by a courtesy so exquisite, that one stops at the next doorway to re-enjoy the luxury."

"My memory went back to my three friends of the morning, standing in the sunlight, their sombreros in the dust; to the garrulous old gardener bending over his flowers; to the girl selling pottery; to the tender courtesy and gentleness of these people, their unchanging serenity of temper, their marvelous patience, their innate taste, skill, etc."

At the beginning of the war craze in the United States, Prof. Morse of Massachusetts, one of the most distinguished evolutionists among American scientific men, made the following observation upon the midsummer madness of the American people:

"It has taken our race a million years to climb up from the beast to the man; it takes just fifteen minutes for a man to go back to the beast again."

On my return trip in June last from the Orient, whither I had gone before war was declared, I wrote from on board the steamer *Coptic* as follows:

"Tuesday, June 23d.—Last night at 1:30 A. M., I was awakened by three sharp blasts of our ship's whistle saluting the passing transports to Manila. Alas! alas! and alas!—enthusiasm now, but later on sickness, suffering, misery, squalid death under the pitiless sun of a tropical sky in an alien land. And later on for those who remain at home, taxes! taxes! taxes! Such is the glory and the cost of war. When all the burdens of it are settled on the backs of the people, then look out for political and social revolutions at home. As the war has been repeatedly referred to by my correspondents, I will say I'm no Jingo; don't believe in the doctrines of island expansion, annexation or conquest, but fear that the American people are lending a willing ear to the suggestions of pride, ambition and avarice, rather than to the sober and wholesome dictates of wisdom, prudence and justice. Spain's colonies have ruined her."

The events affecting this question have confirmed and intensified my opposition to the policy pursued by the United States government during the past twelve months. I have never believed that the war was necessary, and my convictions have been strengthened by the averment of Mr. John Sherman, Secretary of State up to less than a year ago, who is responsible for the disclosure, since his retirement, that the State Department had, prior to the declaration of war, reached a point in diplomatic negotiations with Spain at which the latter expressed a readiness to part with Cuba for 200 million dollars. I am further confirmed therein by the statement of General Woodford, the then Minister to Spain, who is credited with saying substantially as follows:

> That when in Madrid conducting negotiations he had progressed to a point at which Spain conceded every demand we made, and that when the government of Spain drafted the scheme of autonomy to be put in force in Cuba, it comprehended therein all we had demanded; and that if the Congress of the United States had let the question alone, he believed would have established a stable government in the isle of Cuba, and that within from three to six months thereafter the flag of Spain would have peaceably come down.

Thus verifying the saying of Euripides, that—

> * * * "the force of words
> Can do whate'er is done by conquering swords."

This, however, seems like generalizing; therefore let me be specific:

FIRST—Spain had never infringed or encroached upon any American rights. On the contrary, she had at all times exhibited the utmost deference and courtesy toward the United States; she had yielded to our every demand.

SECOND—The Spanish government had released all Americans caught in the act of aiding the Cuban insurgents, though under the operation of martial law such persons were punishable by death.

THIRD—The cruel Weyler had been recalled, and in his stead the merciful Blanco had been appointed Governor-General.

FOURTH—Autonomy, or home rule—self-government—had been granted to Cuba, and a Cuban Legislature had been elected.

FIFTH—The Spanish government had stopped the war by the declaration of an armistice in accordance with the request of President McKinley.

SIXTH—The reconcentradoes had received permission to return to their homes.

SEVENTH—The Spanish government had appropriated funds for the relief of the reconcentradoes.

EIGHTH—Permission had been given to the Americans to feed the reconcentradoes.

It was said we could no more have averted the war than we could stay the progress of Muir Glacier. That is the unspeakably sad part of it. Marcus Aurelius saw the decadence of Rome, but was powerless to prevent it. New York harbor has Bartholdi's statue "Liberty Enlightening the World." Are we engaged in that ennobling work by rivaling the Romans in a policy of conquest and dominion?

The most cherished political principles of the past—all those contained in the Declaration of Independence—held by the Democratic-Republican parties of the United States, for example, that all men are born equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that all just government derives its power from the consent of the governed; and the sacred doctrine of the universal Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man, are being trampled under foot in the sanguinary rush toward—Glory—Expansion—"Imperial Democracy."

Advocates of island expansion constantly refer to the acquisition by the United States of Florida, the Louisiana Territory, Texas, Arizona, and California as precedents for taking the Philippines. There is no analogy whatever between these cases and the proposed annex-

ation of the Philippine or other tropical islands. These were natural acquisitions of simply unoccupied wilds of contiguous territories suitable for settlement by the Caucasian race. In this vast stretch of wilderness there was at no time an average of one man of any race to every ten square miles, and now, 300 years after our first colonies were founded, we have in the whole United States only twenty-two people to the square mile, while in the Philippines, 7000 miles distant, there are sixty-six people to the square mile, and people too who have occupied the land for countless generations, aye, even for ages long gone and forgotten.

The policy of the present United States Congress and the Executive Administration may be summed up as having shown four stages of progressive development:

First—Yellow Journalism and hysteria.
Second—Revenge and elemental ferocity.
Third—Militarism and pride of power.
Fourth—Ambition, greed and ignorance.

At the meeting of the International Bar Association, a year or two ago, Judge Storey made some pertinent remarks to the effect that while the United States could endure short crops, depressed business, hard times and domestic friction, it would be hardest for it to bear success in a foreign war; and this has come true.

The good feeling between Great Britain and the United States is something I have always believed in and sought to promote, and without doubt England rendered the United States Government an important service last year; yet it does not appear to me that it is any part of the duty or to the advantage of our Government to take a position in the Orient that might require us to act as her military ally in matters which are of no interest to the mass of our people.

I do not believe that we are under any responsibility whatever in respect to the Philippines. Although technically included in Oceanica, the Philippines properly belong to

Asia, and could never be naturally integrated with the American Republic. Because the necessities of war resulted in the destruction of the Spanish fleets lying in Manila Bay and at Santiago, does it follow, any more than it would had they been in one of Spain's home ports, and our flag raised over Cadiz, that we should take and hold Spain? Shall we renounce our professions and our hallowed traditions and give vent to latent predatory instincts, or shall we be true to the principles of our honored sires, as the defenders and upholders of the interests of humanity? We are not obligated to govern the Filipinos in any manner or form. Let them look out for themselves—work out their own salvation, in fear and trembling if necessary. Give them a chance to try to walk before saying they cannot. The fact that we have bargained for 10,000,000 people at $2 per head, with a seller who cannot deliver the goods, is no valid and sufficient reason for undermining and overthrowing our own form of government. A despotism like that in Java, or the bald exploitation of labor in the interest of capital, as in Hawaii, would be a departure from the spirit of our institutions so radical that if successful it would mean the overthrow of democracy in the United States. Let the poor and all men who earn their bread by the labor of their hands pause and consider well before they give their assent to a policy so deliberately forgetful of the equality of rights. As for so-called "Imperial Democracy," it is only a thinly disguised scheme to destroy American Democracy in the interests of what? Worse than nothing! Merely to attract the notice of monarchical Europe and the plaudits of the unthinking,—or, I repeat, to exploit Asiatic coolies in the interest of capital at the expense of American labor. I lack words to express my scorn for it. In the language of Bourke Cockran, "it is an effort on the part of this country to join in the groveling, grabbing, degrading contest of the family of nations, a contest that has always filled the world with woe and impeded human thought and human progress."

I realize that the United States can adopt Imperialism—imperial liberty, as it is jauntily called—and engage in a policy of conquering and to conquer for awhile; but would it be representative government? NO! The Queen of the Antilles, Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines. What an alluring seductive vision of territorial Expansion! What intoxicating suggestion of tropical felicities: the hula hula— la media noche—Tannhauser and Pleasure: from Plymouth Rock to Manila!

We know what has taken place in darkest South—the Carolinas, Mississippi, and Louisiana; the colored vote has simply been suppressed,—that is the plain English of it. What is worse, the Republican organs of the country are acquiescing in it, as being the only practical way out of that perplexing and harrassing problem of more than thirty years' duration. Yet the Negroes of the South are only as one to ten of population in the United States and have enjoyed close relations with the Whites for four or five generations, one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty years.

With a country that turns out thirty criminals and suffers twenty violent deaths (an average of over 15,000 for three years past) to one for Great Britain, we certainly are not in a position to start out on propagandas of altruism. And for outrages on public highways—land piracies—we out-rival the whole world—one hundred and twenty-five trains dynamited in ten years past! As for administrative plunderings it costs five times as much per capita for municipal administration in San Francisco as it does in Birmingham or Glasgow. This degeneration is demoralizing the whole body politic, yet seemingly is not enough. We scour the seas for other distracting problems. I believe that we will do better for mankind and for ourselves by cultivating more peaceful methods, more Christian characteristics at home.

"Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people."

For Land Piracies
in United States
See page 52.

To say nothing of the opinions of Imperialism expressed in the declaration of the President of the United States that "'Territorial conquest would be criminal aggression," and of the Congress of the United States that "Any disposition or intention to exercise any sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said islands except for the pacification thereof, is disclaimed," the mere *idea* of conquest, race subjugation, and colonial responsibility should be abhorrent to an American. Senator Gray of Delaware, one of the Peace Commissioners to Paris, pleaded zealously against the policy of acquiring the Philippines as unpatriotic, un-American, and inconsistent with probity and good statesmanship. The Supreme Court of the United States, December, 1856, declared, "There is certainly no power given by the Constitution to the Federal Government to establish or maintain colonies bordering on the United States, or at distances, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure. No power is given to acquire a territory to be held and governed permanently in that character." Now the current laws of the United States will not permit us to make citizens of the ten millions of Asiatics in the Philippine Islands. In 1879 the vote of California on Chinese immigration was 154,638 against, to 883 for. Ten years ago Congress precipitously passed a law prohibiting even the voluntary immigration of Chinese to this country, for the sole purpose of suppressing in the United States a system of cheap contract labor. On the Scott Bill for Chinese exclusion the U. S. Senate voted, September 7, 1888, 37 yeas, *only* 3 nays. So late as 1892, on the Geary Exclusion Act, Congress voted in the House 178 for, only 43 against. Despite this we have annexed the Hawaiian Islands, a territory in which cheap contract labor is the dominating characteristic of the laboring population—so dominating, so overwhelming as to seem to our Commissioners a necessity to the industry of those islands,—and now it is proposed to add 10 million Filipinos.

"The Anglo-Saxon in America has never shown a disposition to ally himself with the aborigines,—has evinced no faculty for dealing with inferior races, as they are called, except through a process of extermination. From the earliest days at Wessagusset and in the Pequod war, down to the very last election held in North Carolina—from 1623 to 1898—the knife and the shotgun have been far more potent and active instruments in his dealings with the inferior races than the code of liberty or the output of the Bible Society."

Nor is the policy of island expansion or Imperialism justifiable or defensible from even a merely mercenary point of view. In the past six years England's trade has not appreciably increased, while that of the United States has, and within the six years mentioned, some 15 to 20 per cent.

What does this mean? It means that, as proved by the United States and Germany, colonies are not necessary for the expansion of trade; and as proved by Great Britain, colonies do not protect a nation against loss of trade. Every well informed man knows that the leading British statesmen of this generation have called the attention of their people to the burdens of colonial administration—Lord Charles Beresford to the contrary notwithstanding. The noble Lord's mission may be summed up thus:

"'Will you walk into my parlor?' said the spider to the fly,
'Tis the prettiest little parlor that ever you did spy.'"

Moreover the alleged fitness of the British for such service has been attained by hundreds of years of experience. If Americans have ever displayed any ability in this line I am not aware of it.

I have said that colonies have ruined Spain. In the report just made by Mr. Peletan to the French Chamber of Deputies, he said that France spent 80 millions of dollars annually on colonies. What benefit, he demanded, did France reap from those 80 millions—or rather 90, for the estimates

were always exceeded? In 1897 French exports to the colonies amounted to 118 millions, and, assuming the profit to be 20 per cent, the cost price was 95 millions. This gave a net loss of about 60 millions. He was aware that the West Africa colonies were remunerative but why embark in adventures in which there was nothing to be gained? This system of conquests at a certain loss was an absurdity unprecedented in history. Never before had a nation expended 60 million dollars and many lives for the singular advantage of ruling by force over distant populations. The root of the evil is that there is no colonization, but only military occupation; and conflicts between the colonists and the military authorities have been of constant occurrence.

As to our exports to the Philippines, they are too insignificant to be thought of, having averaged less than 130 thousand dollars for eighteen years—1880 to 1897, inclusive; and the amount for the last year, according to the published official record of the Treasury Department, was only 127 thousand dollars and the average for five years past has been only 4-100 of 1 per cent of total exports. If we need the Philippines and a navy to maintain the prestige of our commerce there, as alleged statesmen tell us, how many islands, and how large a navy do we need to maintain the prestige of our commerce with the United Kingdom of Great Britain, etc., and Continental Europe? To the latter countries the United States, without either islands or navy, exported during the fiscal year 1897, more than 7700 times as much as to the Philippines, and 22 times as much as to the entire Orient; and our exports to the Orient consist more largely of the precious metals than of produce or manufactures. Manifestly we need Ireland, the Azores, Guernsey, Heligoland, etc.

But further considering the purely sordid and mercenary view; whence is to come our profit from Expansion to and Imperialism in the Philippine Islands? From what source are the refulgent rays of glory to emanate? If, as said in the United States Senate by the Hon. William Mason, of Illinois, there were only something to steal we might give ourselves

over to the alluring, seductive worship of the Almighty Dollar. But the whole group would be of no more commercial value to the United States than the smallest island suitable for a coaling and naval station. We could not possibly enjoy a monopoly of trade with the Islands, and the supposed point of vantage in the Philippines (7000 miles from home to begin with) as a distributing center for our trade with the Orient is not discernible.

Hong Kong, the southernmost English trade center for China, is 650 miles northwest of Manila. Shanghai is 800 miles north of Hong Kong; Hankow is 800 miles west of Shanghai, and Chefu,—Wei-hai-Wei,—on the Shantung Peninsula, the last station taken by Great Britain to insure communication with the north central portion of China, reached from the Gulf of Pechili, is also 800 miles north of Shanghai. From this it will be seen that the Philippines, where our Glory, our Expansion and our Militarism are to shine with such brilliant lustre, are 2300 miles distant from the northern commercial centers of China, and therefore are futile as a point of vantage. Manifestly what we need in the Orient is Corea! Why not take that so as be fully "in the swim" with Russia and Great Britain?

Commercial growth, let it not be overlooked, does not at all depend upon territorial or colonial expansion. We have had the greater part of the trade of Hawaii, yet did not own the Islands, and Great Britain enjoys the larger part of the trade of the Philippines, yet does not own them. Great Britain probably controls eighty per cent of the foreign trade of China, not because she has colonies, but because her people have so far been the best traders in the world—excepting the Dutch, for the same reason she carries in British bottoms nearly all the foreign tonnage out of our own port of San Francisco.

The following tables respecting Foreign Commerce of the United States, including that with Oceanica and the Philippines, will be of interest to all those of a statistical turn of mind:

A SUMMARY STATEMENT

Of the Foreign Commerce of the United States for the five years from 1893 to 1897, both inclusive, showing the imports, exports and total Commerce for each division and their respective trade balances; also the annual averages of the same, and the percentage of each:

COUNTRIES.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	TOTAL COMMERCE.	BALANCES.		NET BALANCE.
				FAVORABLE.	ADVERSE.	
Europe	$ 1,986,005,097	$ 3,477,204,621	$ 5,463,209,718	$ 1,491,199,524		
North America	717,412,132	589,583,652	1,306,995,784		$ 127,828,480	
South America	530,739,909	169,443,639	700,183,548		361,296,270	
Asia	408,324,122	119,325,106	527,649,228		288,999,016	
Oceanica	113,921,334	76,072,892	189,994,226		37,848,442	
Africa	35,748,231	47,322,068	83,070,299	11,573,837		
All others	5,669,770	1,992,447	7,662,217		3,677,323	
	$ 3,797,820,595	$ 4,480,944,425	$ 8,278,765,020	$ 1,502,773,361	$ 819,649,531	$ 683,123,830

ANNUAL AVERAGES.

COUNTRIES.	IMPORTS.	PER CENT.	EXPORTS.	PER CENT.	TOTALS.	PER CENT.
Europe	$ 397,201,019	52.0	$ 695,440,924	77.6	$ 1,092,641,944	64.9
North America	143,482,426	19.0	117,916,730	13 2	261,399,157	16.1
South America	106,107,982	14.1	33,888,728	3 8	140,036,720	9 0
Asia	81,664,824	10 8	23,865,021	2.6	105,529,845	6.7
Oceanica	26,384,267	3.0	15,214,578	1.7	37,998,845	2.3
Africa	7,149,646	0.9	9,464,414	1.0	16,614,060	0 9
All others	1,133,955	0.2	398,490	0.1	1,532,443	0.1
	$ 759,564,119	100.0	$ 896,188,885	100.0	$ 1,655,753,004	100.0

A SUMMARY STATEMENT

Of the Commerce of the United States with ASIA and OCEANICA for the five years from 1893 to 1897, both inclusive, showing imports, exports and total Commerce. Also, their respective trade balances and the *percentage* of each on the total Commerce.

	COUNTRIES.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	TOTALS.	ADVERSE BALANCES.
ASIA	China (inc. Hong Kong)	$105,634,289	$ 55,643,818	$161,278,107	$ 49,990,471
	Japan	120,123,493	32,762,179	152,885,672	87,361,314
	British India	103,001,908	18,406,083	121,407,991	84,595,825
	Dutch East Indies	58,161,487	7,724,221	65,885,708	50,437,266
	Turkey in Asia	16,303,353	486,331	16,789,684	15,817,022
	Russia " "	1,726,478	1,496,327	3,222,805	230,151
	All other countries	3,373,114	2,806,147	6,379,261	366,967
	Totals	$408,324,122	$119,325,106	$527,649,228	.....
	Per Annum	81,664,824	23,865,021	105,529,845	$288,999,016
	Per Cent	10⁸%	2⁶%	6⁷%	.....

OCEANICA.

COUNTRIES.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	TOTAL.	FAVORABLE BALANCE.	ADVERSE BALANCES.	NET ADVERSE BALANCE.
Australasia	$ 29,384,064	$ 55,275,792	$ 84,659,856	$ 25,891,728	.....	.....
Hawaiian Islands	52,546,548	18,532,689	71,079,237	.....	$ 34,013,859	.....
PHILIPPINE Islands	32,266,162	676,142	30,942,304	.....	29,590,020	.....
All others	1,719,966	1,588,269	3,308,235	.....	131,697	.....
Totals	$113,916,740	$ 76,072,892	$189,989,632	$ 25,891,728	$ 63,735,576	$ 37,843,848
Total Asia and Oceanica	$522,240,862	$195,397,998	$717,638,860	.....	.....	$ 326,842,864

OCEANICA.—Annual averages of imports and exports, and *percentage* of same on total commerce.

COUNTRIES.	IMPORTS.	PER CENT.	EXPORTS.	PER CENT.	TOTAL.	PER CENT.	FAVORABLE BALANCE.	ADVERSE BALANCES.	NET ADVERSE BALANCE.
Australasia									

To the advocates of Expansion and Imperialism who indulge in the delusion that a mere change in the suzerainty of the colonial possessions of Spain will cause the movements of commerce to change their natural channels and seek other markets regardless of the laws of consumption, we commend a study of the object-lesson presented by the tabular statement found below.

It is a simple statement, compiled from the Statesman's Year Book of the foreign commerce of the four greatest colonial nations, for the past decade, divided into two quinquennial periods compared with each other, and also compared with similar periods of the commerce of the United States, destitute, as it is, of colonies and so poorly off in tonnage that 82 per cent of its own exported products have to be carried in foreign bottoms.

It will be observed that during the latter period of five years as compared with the preceding one, these four colonial nations have lost over 1500 million dollars of their export trade while the United States, without colonies and with a very limited tonnage, has increased its export trade with foreign markets over 270 million dollars. But the most remarkable experience is shown, where we should least expect it, in the colonial commerce of the United Kingdom.

It is the boast of this little Kingdom, comprising less than 122,000 square miles and 40,000,000 people, that the sun never sets upon her domain, as by means of her "Colonies," "Protectorates," and "Spheres of Influence" she practically controls 22 per cent of the entire area of the globe, and 400,000,000 of its peoples or 27 per cent of the population of the world, and owns, besides, 55 per cent of its carrying tonnage. And yet, notwithstanding these signal advantages, it appears that while she sustained a loss of over 566 million dollars or 7½ per cent of her export trade, the loss of her exports to her own colonies exceeded 200 million or over 10 per cent. This should afford conclusive evidence to every reflecting mind that the commerce of the world has inexorable laws of its own that are not to be controlled or affected by ill-advised chauvinism or popular claptrap.

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	TOTALS.
Great Britian			
1888-92...	£ 2,095,200,481	£ 1,543,676,222	£ 3,638,876,703
1893-97...	2,122,769,841	1,427,319,398	3,550,089,239
Germany			
1887-91...	Mks. 25,683,053,000	Mks. 22,635,533,000	Mks. 48,318,586,000
1892-96...	21,450,669,000	19,624,044,000	41,074,713,000
France			
1887-91...	Fcs. 26,840,000,000	Fcs. 22,909,000,000	Fcs. 49,749,000,000
1892-96...	24,731,000,000	22,185,000,000	46,916,000,000
Spain			
1888-92...	Pesetas 4,293,802,967	Pesetas 4,193,023,244	Pesetas 8,486,826,211
1893-97...	3,640,635,485	3,699,739,635	7,340,375,120
Br. Colonies			
1887-91...	£ 463,606,406	£ 415,679,788	£ 879,286,194
1892-96...	471,786,163	373,619,786	845,405,949
United States			
1888-92...	$3,930,717,830	$4,210,913,524	$8,141,661,354
1893-97...	3,797,820,595	4,480,944,425	8,278,765,020

Great Britain,	Loss of Export Trade.	£	116,356,824 = $566,657,732 =	7.53%
Germany,	" " "	.Mks.	3,011,489,000 = $716,734,382 =	13.61%
France,	" " "	.Fcs.	723,000,000 = $139,732,000 =	5.25%
Spain,	" " "	.Ps.	493,283,609 = $ 95,603,736 =	11.76%
British Colonies	" " "	.£	42,060,002 = $204,832,209 =	10.12%

*Total Loss (exclusive of British Colonies).....$1,518,127,850

United States, INCREASE Total Gain.....$ 270,000,901 = 6.41%

The Domestic Exports from the United States to the world at large for the year 1898 were 1281 million dollars; to the Philippines for the year ending June 30, 1898, 127 thousand dollars — or less than 1-100 of one per cent. It is curious there should be so much noise over a crate of goods to the Philippines as compared to a shipload to Great Britain or Continental Europe.

The cant that "trade follows the flag" is as shallow sophistry as the designing claptrap that "free silver would bring prosperity." Trade is determined by fitness, price and transportation, all of which may be summed up in the one word, PRICE. It is asserted that "trade follows the flag," and that, as respects dependencies, at least, the "open door"

*The footing of $1,518,127,850 does not include the item of British Colonies, $204,832,209.

policy is the best policy. If "trade follows the flag" in dependencies, and, by so doing, affords the American producer all needful PROTECTION and every fair advantage in those dependencies, it is not at once apparent why it fails so to do at home.

It may not be out of place here to say that at the rate we are traveling in quest of imperial splendor, the year '99 will probably show for administering the affairs of the Government a budget in excess of that of any nation in the world; and that the combined outlay for pensions, army and navy, will alone approximate or exceed *three hundred and fifty millions of dollars*. Now, thirty-three years after the Civil War, we have a pension roll of very nearly one million names. And still they come. We paid to pensioners last year over 145 million dollars, a sum larger than the annual cost of the whole military peace establishment of the German Empire, including its pension roll.

But there are questions in life that refuse to be settled by equations.

> "Blot out the huckstering tale of gain or loss;
> Behold the LEADER of a vanquished Cause,
> HIS arms extended on the bitter Cross."

A sophistry of the Spanish war craze is to the effect that the added responsibilities imposed upon the American people by the administration of government in foreign lands, over conquered and subjugated alien peoples, would develop a scope of mental and moral vision so broad as to beget a nobler and more exalted sense of the obligations devolving upon our people as members of a World Power.

Any one at all familiar with the administration of colonial affairs in Africa, Asia or Malaysia well knows the fallacy of

this theory. In view of the character and repute of the political jobbers who, according to the public press, largely influence the government of this country, it would be just as consistent to argue that a confirmed roué, acknowledging, yet violating his conjugal obligations, would have his moral vision purified and his mental horizon extended by being provided with a harem.

If this view of the case is questioned I offer these extracts from five letters recently received from Manila, written by different correspondents connected with the army. One of the writers expresses himself as follows :

"If interest in our home country, if our desire to steer clear of international and internecine complications are the main factors to be considered, then don't hold the islands. The majority of Spaniards, at least here, are willing, and I might say anxious, for us to take charge of the islands, but it were much better if politics in our own country were greatly improved before we create larger fields for politicians to feed in. Besides this our army officials should be taught not to rob and neglect American soldiers before they are given charge of a foreign, ignorant and helpless people."

"The only 'imperialists,'" says another, "in all the American forces now in these islands are to be found among the temporary government appointees, who see coming within their grasp large fat official plums, and a large percentage of the well-paid army officers, surrounded by their large retinue of cheap servants, a la ante-bellum days in the South."

A third says: "Prior to the advent of the Americans there were but two saloons on the Escolta, the principal business street, a quarter of a mile long, whereas now there are eighteen. In the city there are now 300 places where liquors are sold. The income of the largest, the "Alhambra," is said to be $700 nightly. Already the street cars are topped with large signs detailing the exquisite qualities of certain whiskies, and a quarter of the space in the newspapers printed in English is devoted to beer advertisements, while the largest drug store has a whole column of liquor announcements to the exclusion of any mention of medicines."

Another writes he has just established a gambling shop, making $287 in one week.

The fifth writes:

"The young man that looks upon the Philippines as an Eldorado, who thinks life will be easier there, that a living will come without effort, I say to him cordially, go, hasten by first steamer, your country does not need nor want such as you; it is a good place for you. To the serious, thinking man to whom life is something more than bed and board; don't go, you are leaving an Eden behind you, and will find but a moral cess-pool awaiting you. If your own country is not large enough for you, it is doubtless your own, not your country's fault.

"The young man willing to work is debarred from exhibiting much energy by climatic conditions. The only hard workers are the Chinese, and they also control nearly all of the better class of retail trade and a large part of the banking business. The bodily frame of the majority of our men is not sufficiently immune from malaria and kindred ills to permit of a residence in the Island.

"Moral suicide awaits nine out of every ten young men, who, lacking the elements of Christian training and influence, visit the far East. The morality of the treaty ports from Yokohama to Suez presents a darker picture than the slums of Europe can offer. There temptation is all but overpowering; it stalks on the streets, is registered at the hotels, and put-up at the social clubs. Its representatives are prowling into Manila from Hong Kong and Singapore. November and December last witnessed a veritable Klondykan rush to the former Spanish capital. As a result, Manila is becoming a den of vice. The Escolta, the leading street, is facetiously referred to as the "Yankee beer chute," resembles somewhat a midway, and is all but literally lined with saloons. I counted four hundred in a little over a mile. These are mostly kept by Americans. The largest cafe, known as the Alhambra, has frequently closed its bar at four in the afternoon because its stock of liquor was exhausted.

Do the Filipinos form the larger complement of their patr
Not at all, our own boys are their customers, and man
them boys, who prior to their arrival at Manila, had n
venture to say, ever touched a glass of intoxicating liquor.

"The young man without capital has no business in t
islands. Until order is brought out of chaos, the situa
becomes more stable, the clouds lift, and the necessity of m
taining a large force to hold in check the native population
best place for our young men is at home, and even under
most favorable conditions had I a son, I would feel some
as though I was consigning him to almost certain destruc
did I permit him to take up residence in the Orient, u
necessity did not compel his passing beyond our shores."

From this and the fact that 1100 coffins have been ord
from a lumber establishment in San Francisco, doubters
see that *increased* consumption does enliven business at
nila. This is Glory—this is Expansion—this is "Imperial
nocracy!"

Permit me to call the attention of the expansionist cle
those who seem to think that latter day ideas of political lib
and the Protestant religion can, by quick-firing can
and Krag-Jorgeson rifles, be shot into struggling peo
aspiring to freedom, to the pictures here presented of
refining and elevating influences that are reaching Ma
through the medium of war. Yet these gentlemen tell us
we are going abroad in the interests of Christian civilizat

> "Ah, there is Woe when war's red banners rise,
> "Woe when rapine's flames mount to the sorrowing skies."

The truth is that the moral progress made in Orie
colonies has been a reflex of the moral advance of the H
Government—not an expanded moral sense on the part of
exploiters, e. g., witness the arraignment, though fu
of Lord Clive and Warren Hastings. Nor have we t
abroad or delve into the past for examples of official wr
doing. Apart from corruption in our municipal, state
national government, the army has been, in the brief inte

of the past year, fruitful of cases, of venality and insubordination. And the more Islands we plunder the more corruption we shall suffer at home.

In the appendix to Pope's translation of the Odyssey appears a Greek composition entitled "A Prayer to Apollo," wherein is recited the jealousy of Juno at what she deems the slights of Jove, and because of which she proposes to bring forth of her own volition and power a son that shall surpass all other men. The fruit of this abnormal conception was a monster called Typhon, whom Juno entrusted for rearing to a dragoness on earth, and the two were prolific sources of woe to the sons of men—relentless creatures who, as the author relates :

"Did oppress
"With many a misery to maintain the excess
"Of that inhuman monster, all the race
"Of men that were of all the world the grace."

"Imperial Democracy," as the outcome of righteous democratic republican government would be a prodigy as evil and pernicious as the misbegotten whelp of Juno.

Is this revolting? If so, take heed of the following: On November 22, 1898, Hon. C. A. Sulloway, a member of the U. S. Congress from New Hampshire, said: "China is succumbing to the inevitable, and the United States, if she would not retire to the background, must advance along the line with the other great nations. She must acquire new territory, providing new markets over which she must maintain control. The Anglo-Saxon advances into the new regions with a Bible in one hand and a shotgun in the other. The inhabitants of those regions that he cannot convert with the aid of the Bible and bring into his markets, he gets rid of with the shotgun. It is but another demonstration of the survival of the fittest." This is Science and Materialism gone mad.

In other words, like a jackal, we select a point of vantage and watch the dismemberment of a carcass by lions awaiting our opportunity to seize a few fragments.

In the language of a British statesman, uttered in an hour of stress:

"Come the eleventh plague rather than this should be;
Come sink us rather in the sea;
Come, rather, pestilence, and reap us down;
Come God's sword, rather than our own.
Let rather Roman come again,
Or Saxon, Norman, or the Dane.
In all the bonds we ever bore,
We *grieved*, we *sighed*, we *wept*; —WE NEVER BLUSHED BEFORE." *

However, my opposition is not based upon commercial, constitutional, legal, or technical grounds alone, but also upon the doctrine of *human rights*, and *common sense*. The assumed analogy between England and America is a fallacy, and strikes at the very root of our governmental foundations. England's institutions have been formed on the doctrine of *in*equality (as are those of all Monarchical Governments); America's on the declared principle of equality before the law. It may without exaggeration be said of the North American people that, from the beginning down to this year just ended, its development has been one long protest against, and divergence from, Old World methods and ideals. Referring to the denial of his "inalienable rights" to the African, Thomas Jefferson declared: "I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just." And Abraham Lincoln said, "The assertion that all men are created equal was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain, and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its author meant it to be, as, thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling block to all those who, in after times, might seek to turn a free people back into the paths of despotism. *They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant, when such should reappear in this fair land, and commence their vocation, they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.*"

If we are now to abandon the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and American Democracy for British Imperialism it is meet and right that

* (Lines by old Abraham Cowley, used by Sir Robert Peel in repelling an attack of Wm. Cobett in the British Parliament, 1833).

we should make the *amende honorable* to King George the Third, of gracious (?) memory, and publicly confess to the world at large and to England in particular, that the masked rioters who threw the tea overboard in Boston harbor, and the scattering mob of ranchers who caused tumult and bloodshed at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill were in reality "Lewd fellows of the baser sort" bent on the subversion of law and order; that they and their aiders and abbettors deserved condign punishment at the hands of British Red Coats, and that their memories be now execrated. Nay more, should we not go to Washington City, take down the portrait of the reputed Father of our Country and substitute therefor that of Good (?) King George the Third?

And when we have done all this let us exclaim, Ichabod! Our glory has departed!

> Of all we loved and honored, naught
> Save power remains,—
> A fallen angel's pride of thought,
> Still strong in chains.
>
> All else is gone, from those great eyes
> The soul has fled:
> When faith is lost, when honor dies,
> The man is dead!

Seventy-five years ago John Quincy Adams, in a Fourth of July address delivered at Washington, in referring to the "MISSION OF AMERICA" as a member of the great family of nations, with a remarkable foresight of the political heresies and philanthropic neonisms of to-day, raised a warning voice in fervid tone against a departure from the spirit of our institutions, which was prophetic of the dangers now threatening our national life and which appeal to every sentiment of true patriotism and love of country. He said—

"And now, friends and countrymen, if the wise and learned philosophers of the older world, the first observers of nutation and aberration, the discoverers of maddening ether and invisible planets, the inventors of Congreve rockets and Shrapnel shells, should find their hearts disposed to enquire, what has America

done for mankind? Let our answer be this:—America, with the same voice which spoke herself into existence as a nation, proclaimed to mankind the inextinguishable rights of human nature, and the only lawful foundations of government. America, in the assembly of nations, since her admission among them, has invariably, though often fruitlessly, held forth to them the hand of honest friendship, of equal freedom, of generous reciprocity. She has uniformly spoken among them, though often to heedless and often to disdainful ears, the language of equal liberty, equal justice and equal rights. She has in the lapse of nearly half a century, without a single exception, respected the independence of other nations, while asserting and maintaining her own. She has abstained from interference in the concerns of others even when the conflict has been for principles to which she clings, as to the last vital drop that visits the heart. She has seen that probably for centuries to come, all the contents of that Aceldama, the European World, will be contest between *inveterate power and emerging right.* Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions, and her prayers be. BUT SHE GOES NOT ABROAD IN SEARCH OF MONSTERS TO DESTROY. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She will recommend the general cause, by the countenance of her voice, and the benignant sympathy of her example. *She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom.* The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force. The frontlet upon her brows would no longer beam with the ineffable splendor of freedom and independence; but in its stead would soon be substituted an imperial diadem, flashing in false and tarnished lustre the murky radiance of dominion and power.

SHE MIGHT BECOME THE DICTATRESS OF THE WORLD; SHE WOULD NO LONGER BE THE RULER OF HER OWN SPIRIT."

The press dispatches of February 17th report President McKinley as also saying (to the Home Market Club of Boston) that our country has a mission. Let me quote from an eminent New York lawyer of to-day, Mr. Wheeler H. Peckham:

"I do, indeed, think that this nation has a noble mission to mankind and humanity. That mission is to show them how to live. To show that it is possible to form a vast political organization which shall be just and honest and free; in which the remedy of war shall be eliminated; in which controversies shall be those of the mind, and in which knowledge and intellect and benevolence shall be the arms used; where the forum shall not be the tented field; where hospitals and ambulances and surgeons and nurses and suffering and death shall not be weapons; but where the forum shall be a Court, where great and good men shall listen to argument and reason, and shall adjudge and decide as right and justice may appear, and where their decisions shall be respected and observed because they are just."

We all know that according to Greek mythology the blue-eyed fair-haired goddess, Minerva, the most beautiful of all Jove's daughters, was the patron saint or protecting goddess of the Greeks in their campaign against the Trojans. She it was who cheered them in their discomfitures and in their hours of gloom inspired them with renewed courage to attempt glorious achievements by heroic efforts for final victory in the overthrow of Troy. But when, in the hour of triumph, the impious Ajax profaned the temple of Liberty—Minerva's—she called to her aid all the avenging furies and lashed the offenders through the world. For this the army of the Greeks was decimated; for this the noble Ulysses wandered painfully over sea and land seeking his Argive home; for this the brand of impiety was set indelibly upon the Greeks. Is there no lesson here for Americans in this their hour of madness?

In the midst of war and rumors of war and all its dread

accompaniments and consequences, its disastrous blunde
policy at home, and savage struggles in the field, it rei
more imperative the consideration of the truths which, de
all the blandishments of temporal power and place, wer
sistently proclaimed by our Lord and Master, Jesus of N
eth. What shall it profit Americans if they gain the whole v
and lose their reverence for and loyalty to the Declarati
Independence, the Constitution of the United States, an
the most cherished principles of our fair fabric of lib
broadbased on the immutable principles of the truth as it
Jesus?

Confronted by the war-spirit madness which has prev
in the United States for a year past, I would ask every pro
ing Christian of whatsoever church, sect or denominatic
he believes that, were the Galilean Himself present, lookir
at the slaughter of helpless people, He would approve it?
more, I ask those ministers of the Gospel who have bee
swift to proclaim the benefits and blessings of Christian c
zation to follow the triumphs of our arms, whether, in the
of the wild outburst of savagery which has characterized
latest victories, they believe that the evangelizing process w
has been adopted is in keeping with the spirit of Ch
Also, whether they believe that war is any other than
Bismark and Sherman have characterized it, "Hell on ear

"How long, O Lord! how long
Shall such a priesthood barter truth away,
And in Thy name, for robbery and wrong,
At Thy own altars pray?"

If the spirit of Christ prevail not in our civilization, it is c
more worth than the imperial despotism built up and n
tained by Roman Legions, and like it, liable to be overthi
and trampled in the dust by Goths and Vandals in anc
form.

Entertaining the views that these words indicate, I be
that the inexhaustible spirit of love and brotherhood, w
is in Christ Jesus is the only guide to the just and right
settlement of the difficulties in which our country is

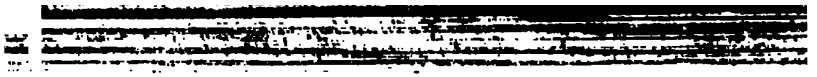
involved, and that it should be appealed to in the heart of every human being who recognizes the fact that Christ died that we might live.

For my own part I cherish a sympathy for all the dwellers in any land, believing them to be our brethren, in a humanitarian sense, if in no other, and not outside the pale of Christ's redemption and the Fatherly compassion of the Almighty.

My opinion is that our coming national campaign will be a strenuous one, and that the issue will be between AMERICAN DEMOCRACY—broadbased, as it is, on the immutable principles of the truth as it is in Jesus—and Plutocratic Imperialism, to the exclusion of all minor questions—standards of value, currency reform, tariff revision and everything else apart from a contest for and against the lust of ambition, power and pelf. I do not believe that the democratic heart of America will tolerate the sordid, vulgar and ignoble spirit of avarice and vainglory which underlie the present situation. To use Prof. Markham's words, the problem of labor is the sphinx that sits at the threshold of the twentieth century. And we must answer its terrible question, or—? The riddle must be solved. For myself I have Hope and Faith.

Amidst the tumult of unmitigable scorn—
The old ancestral cries of mortal wrong,
Hope keeps undimmed the glory of the view,
Which once was hers when all our land was new.
Her ears still catch one strain that never dies,
Held firm through chance and change of earth and skies—
Her dumb unswerving Faith in good and true.

THE REIGN OF THE COMMON PEOPLE.



San Francisco, March 1, 1899.

Mr. John J. Valentine,

San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir:—I had the pleasure to listen to your two lectures dealing with the Philippine question and have been very much impressed with your clear and truthful statement of facts and the strong arguments; which ought to convince every intelligent American that McKinley and his staff are on the wrong path. I am a Hollander by birth and education, have lived seven years on the Island of Java, and was during that time in close contact with the Malay natives and their chiefs. I learned their language, their customs, and know their good and bad habits, virtues and vices, and will say that it is an absurd proposition to even think of absorbing such a race (and the Filipinos are their brothers) in the American nation. Even if through centuries of education their intelligence had vastly increased, even then American principles could not be practiced in their country.

Further; as you remarked so strongly, the Anglo-Saxon cannot live in the tropics without physical, mental and moral degeneration, which degeneration shows itself even after a few years of living in the tropics, and very plainly in the second generation. The severity of the climate is acknowledged by the Dutch Government by the fact that all civil officers have a right to go to the mother country one year for every five years of service in the colonies, and the time of officers and men in the army counts double.

The death rate is high, and most deaths are caused by diseases produced through climatic influences. The natives are short-lived, they are mothers at twelve years; a woman of twenty-five is old and natives of fifty years are rare. That such a climate affects any other race of the temperate zones does not need further argument, and it is fully explained by statistics.

If the American nation, or rather the government—because if the people knew and realized what is in store for them in the future they would oppose as one man—insist in holding these Philippine Islands it simply means the extermination of the native population.

The disappearance of the natives will necessitate the importation of some other tropical race, say Chinese, because manual labor cannot be performed by the Anglo-Saxon in the tropics (even the Chinese in the Dutch colonies abstain from all manual field labor and are traders). A striking example of this course of events are the Hawaiian Islands, since the Americans have settled that country: The natives are fast disappearing; Chinese and Japanese had to be imported to cultivate the soil, and in such numbers that they are at present a menace to the country and at any time when they should realize their power could cripple the industries of those Islands and make them worthless.

The same course of events will take place in the Philippines when gunpowder and bullets have decimated the people and the remainder have been driven back to the mountains—the deadly enemy of the white man who took their all.

If the course of actions now in execution will be continued there will be forever a black spot on the American flag, and the coming generation will dishonor the name of McKinley and those who have been instrumental in forcing this struggle under the most unjust, inhuman and false pretense of bettering the fate of a people who never offended this nation and have the right to be free and own their own.

Nature alone will, in the course of centuries to come, evolutionize and bring those people to a higher level of intellect and make them fit to take place among advanced nations; powder and bullets won't.

And then there is so much to do at home for America, as you justly remarked. Hoping not to have taken too much of your valuable time, I am, Dear Sir,

Respectfully yours,

J. G. Vorstman.

In view of the national shotgun-meat-axe policy, as announced by Congressman Sulloway, of New Hampshire, for the Christian civilization of Oriental races, and called by President McKinley a policy of "benevolent assimilation," it may not be out of place to consider the condition of affairs at home, and I respectfully call the especial attention of the expansionist clergy to the train robbery statistics of the past nine years in the United States of America, as follows: The "Express Gazette" (Cincinnati), has collected the data and significantly adds that during the past year there was not even an attempt at train robbery in Mexico.

1890	12
1891	16
1892	16
1893	33
1894	34
1895	49
1896	28
1897	30
1898	28
Total number of trains "held up" in nine years	246
Total number of people killed	88
Total number of people injured (shot)	77

The above are cold, hard, indisputable facts, from official sources; and furnish a problen of "benevolent assimilation" that would tax the digestion of an ostrich or a boa-constrictor.

JNO. J. VALENTINE.

February 28, 1899.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
AND SCHOOLS OF HAWAII

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

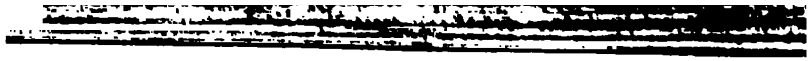
"LEST WE FORGET"

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE GRADUATING CLASS OF 1898
LELAND STANFORD JR. UNIVERSITY
ON
MAY 25, 1898

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN
President of the University

No. 6

PUBLISHED FOR THE UNIVERSITY BY THE COURTESY OF
JOHN J. VALENTINE, ESQ.
PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA
AUGUST 10, 1898.



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PRESS OF
H. S. CROCKER COMPANY
SAN FRANCISCO

PREFATORY NOTE.

The present address was delivered before the graduating class of Leland Stanford, Jr. University in connection with the granting of degrees, on May 25, 1898. It is published in the present form through the kindly interest of Mr. John J. Valentine, of San Francisco. It is here reprinted as delivered with a few slight verbal changes only, although the movement of events has shifted the perspective of some matters under discussion.

I may add one further word. It is a fundamental tenet of democracy that "government must derive its just powers from the consent of the governed." For the time being, government may have another justification, namely, that it is good government, and being good—just, economical and dignified—it may acquire in time the consent of the governed. The good government of careless and lawless races is the foundation and the justification of British imperialism. Imperialism is a difficult art, acquired by long practice, and through the experience of many failures. The secret of England's success lies in the lesson of respect for law, a lesson America in her reaction of national independence has half forgotten. To teach respect for law is Great Britain's civic mission. To teach respect for the individual man has been the mission of America.

It is a common saying in these days that on whatever shores the Stars and Stripes has been raised, it will never be hauled down. This saying would be more worthy of respect if coupled with another, namely, that wherever the American flag may fly it will bring good government, respect for man, and respect for law. To reach this, we must turn over a new leaf. Our record thus far in colonial matters has been one of waste and neglect. Spain lost her colonies because she treated them much as we have treated our own colony of Alaska. "Compulsory Imperialism," we are told, the extension of civilization under the lead of happy chance and "Manifest Destiny," is the next stage in the development of the United States. Probably this is true, but, if so, we must not forget that dominion has its duties as well as its glories, and of these the duties are most numerous as well as most insistent. We must take lessons in respect for law from the only nation (save thrifty Holland) whose foreign possessions have been other than a source of weakness and corruption. The loss of her colonies may mark the civil and moral awakening of Spain. Let us trust that the same event may not bring moral and political decay to the nation which, most unwillingly, inherits Spain's bankrupt assets.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Palo Alto, Santa Clara County, Cal.,
August 10, 1898.

"LEST WE FORGET."

MEMBERS OF THE GRADUATING CLASS OF 1898:

As educated men and women, in your hands lies the future of the State. It is for you and such as you to work out the problems of democracy. This is my justification in speaking to you of the present crisis. For a great world crisis is on us, and this year of 1898 may mark one of the three great epochs in our history.

Twice before in our national life have we stood in the presence of a great crisis. Twice before have we come to the parting of the ways, and twice has our choice been controlled by wise counsel.

The first crisis followed the War of the Revolution. Its question was this: What relation shall the emancipated colonies bear to one another? The answer was the American Constitution, the federation of self-governing and united states.

The second crisis came through the growth of slavery. The union of the states "could not endure, half slave, half free." The emancipation proclamation of Abraham Lincoln marked our decision that the Union should endure; and that all that made for division should be swept away.

The third great crisis is on us now. The war with Spain is only a part of it. The question is not: Can we capture Manila, Havana, Porto Rico or the Canaries? It is not what we can take or what we can hold. The American navy and the American army can accomplish all we ask of them with time and patience.

Battles are fought to-day through engineering and technical skill, not through physical dash. The great cannon speaks the language of science, and individual courage is helpless before it. The standing of our naval officers in matters of engineering is beyond question. There are a hundred nameless lieutenants in our warships who, if opportunity offered, could write their names beside those of Grenville and Nelson and Farragut and Dewey. The glory of Manila is not dim beside that of Mobile or Trafalgar. The cool strength and soberness of Yankee courage, added to the power of naval engineering, could meet any foe on earth on equal terms, and here the terms are not equal. Personal fearlessness our adversaries possess, and that is all they have. That we have, too, in like measure. Everything else is ours. We train our guns against the empty shell of a mediæval monarchy, broken, distracted, corrupt.

The war with Spain marks in itself no crisis. The end is seen from the beginning. It was known to Spain as clearly as to us. But her government had no recourse. They had come to the end of diplomacy, and could only die fighting. "To die game" is an old habit of the Spaniard. "Whatever else the war may do," says the Spanish diplomat, with pathetic honesty, "it can only bring ruin to Spain."

It is too late for us now to ask how we got into the war. Was it inevitable? Was it wise? Was it righteous? We need not ask these questions, because the answers will not help us. We may have our doubts as to one or all of these, but all doubts we must keep to ourselves. We are in the midst of battle, and must fight to the end. The "rough-riders" are in the saddle. "What though the soldier knew some one had blundered?" The swifter, fiercer, more glorious our attacks, the sooner and more lasting our peace. There is no possible justification for the war unless we are strong enough and swift enough to bring it to a speedy end. If America is to be the

Knight-errant of the Nations she must be pure of heart and swift of foot, every inch a knight.

The crisis comes when the war is over. What then? Our question is not what we shall do with Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines. It is what these prizes will do to us. Can we let go of them in honor or in safety? If not, what if we hold them? What will be the reflex effect of great victories, suddenly realized strength, the patronizing applause, the ill-concealed envy of great nations, the conquest of strange territories, the raising of our flag beyond the seas? All this is new to us. It is un-American; it is contrary to our traditions; it is delicious; it is intoxicating.

For this is the fact before us. We have come to our manhood among the nations of the earth. What shall we do about it? The war once finished, shall we go back to our farms and factories, to our squabbles over tariffs and coinage, our petty trading in peanuts and postoffices? Or shall our country turn away from these things and stand forth once for all a great naval power, our vessels in every sea, our influence felt over all the earth? Shall we be the plain United States again, or shall we be another England, fearless even of our own great mother, second to her only in age and prestige?

The minor results of war are matters of little moment in comparison. Let us look at a few of them as we pass. Most of them are not results at all. The glow of battle simply shows old facts in new relation.

The war has stirred the fires of patriotism, we say. Certainly, but they were already there, else they could not be stirred. I doubt if there is more love of country with us to-day than there was a year ago. Real love of country is not easily moved. Its guarantee is its permanence. Love of adventure, love of fight, these are soon kindled. It is these to which the battle spirit appeals. Love of adventure we may not despise. It is the precious heritage of new races; it is the basis of personal courage; but it is not patriotism; it is push. Love of fight is not

in itself unworthy. The race which cannot fight if need be, is a puny folk destined to be the prey of tyrants. But one who fights for fight's sake is a bully, not a hero. The bully is at heart a coward. To fight only when we are sure of the result, is no proof of national courage.

Patriotism is the will to serve one's country; to make one's country better worth serving. It is a course of action rather than a sentiment. It is serious rather than stirring. The shrilling of the mob is not patriotism. It is not patriotism to trample on the Spanish flag, to burn fire-crackers or to twist the Lion's tail. The shrieking of war editors is not patriotism. Nowadays, nations buy newspapers as they buy ships. Whatever is noisy, whether in Congress or the pulpit, or on the streets, cannot be patriotism. It is not in the galleries that we find brave men. " Patriotism," says Dr. Johnson, " is the last refuge of the scoundrel." But he was speaking of counterfeit patriotism. There could not be a counterfeit were there not also a reality.

But this I see as I watch the situation: True patriotism declines as the war spirit rises. Men say they have no interest in reform until the war is over. There is no use of talking of better financial methods, of fairer adjustments of taxes, of wiser administration of affairs, until the war fever has passed by. The patriotism of the hour looks to a fight with some other nation, not towards greater pride in our own.

The war has united at last the North and the South, we say. So at least it appears. When Fitzhugh Lee is called a Yankee, and all the haughty Lees seem proud of the designation, we may be sure that the old lines of division exist no longer. North and South, East and West, whatever our blood, birth or rank, we Yankees stand shoulder to shoulder in 1898. But our present solidarity shows that the nation was sound already, else a month could not have welded it together.

It is twenty-eight years ago to-day that a rebel soldier who says—

> "I am a Southerner,
> I loved the South and dared for her
> To fight from Lookout to the sea
> With her proud banner over me,"

stood before the ranks of the Grand Army and spoke these words:

> "I stand and say that you were right;
> I greet you with uncovered head,
> Remembering many a thundrous fight,
> When whistling death between us sped;
> I clasp the hand that made my scars,
> I cheer the flag my foeman bore,
> I shout for joy to see the stars
> All on our common shield once more."

This was more than a quarter of a century ago and all this time the great loyal South has patiently and unflinchingly accepted war's terrible results. It is not strange, then, that she shows her loyalty to-day. The "Solid South," the bugaboo of politicians, the cloak of Northern venality, has passed away forever. The warm response to American courage, in whatever section or party, in whatever trade or profession, shows that with all our surface divisions, we of America are one in heart. The impartial bitterness of Spanish hatred directed toward all classes and conditions of Anglo-Saxons alike emphasizes the real unity of race and nation.

There are some who justify war for war's sake. Blood-letting "relieves the pressure on the boundaries." It whets courage. It keeps the ape and tiger alive in men. All this is detestable. To waste good blood is pure murder, if nothing is gained by it. To let blood for blood's sake is bad in politics as it is in medicine. War is killing, brutal, barbarous killing, and its direct effects are mostly evil. The glory of war turns our attention from civic affairs. Neglect invites corruption. Noble and necessary as was our Civil War, we have not yet

recovered from its degrading influences. Too often the courage of brave men is an excuse for the depredations of venal politicians. The glorious banner of freedom becomes the cover for the sutler's tent.

The test of civilization is the substitution of law for war; statutes for brute strength. No doubt diplomacy, as one of our Senators has said, is mostly " a pack of lies," and arbitration, as we have known it, is compulsory and arbitrary compromise. But in the long run truth will out, even in diplomacy. The nations who suffer through clumsy and blundering tribunals of arbitration will learn from this experience. They will find means, at last, to secure justice as well as peace. As private war gave way to security under national law, so must public war give way to the law of civilization.

I hear men say to-day that war is necessary to the Republic because we need new heroes for our worship. The old heroes are getting stale. Those of the Revolution are half mythical. Washington and Greene were never actually alive in real flesh and blood. Even Grant and Sherman, Lee and Jackson, Thomas and Farragut are names only to most of us. Our fathers knew them, but their's are not names to conjure with to-day. The name of Dewey fills a popular want. The heroes of the newspaper in times of peace are mere tinsel heroes. Here is one with flesh and blood in him, a man of nerve and courage and success.

All this is true, but our heroes were with us already. In times of peace they were ready for heroism. The real hero is the man who does his duty. It does not matter whether his name be on the headlines of the newspapers or not. His greatness is not enhanced when a street or a trotting horse is named for him. It is the business of the Republic to make a nation of heroes. The making of brave soldiers is only a part of the work of making men. The glare of battle shows men in false perspective. To one who stands in its light we give the glory of a thous-

and. But we may applaud with the rest as the great captains pass before us. They have earned their renown, yet when "the tumult and the shouting dies," still the crisis remains. What effect must the war have on us?

Our line of action seems a narrow one. Our policy has been fully declared. Our armies invade Cuba to put an end to disorder, brutality and murderous wrong. In the words of the resolution of Congress:

"The abhorent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the island of Cuba, so near our own borders, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, and cannot longer be endured."

And in recording the necessity which forces us to act we disclaim all selfish intentions. Thus Congress used these words which are already part of the record of history and which we may not forget:

"The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said islands except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

The wrongs we would avenge are not new to Spain. By such cruelties she has always held her possessions. By such means she has lost most of them. Flanders, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, Chili, Cuba, all tell the same story. Spain still belongs to the seventeenth century. From the seventeenth century Cuba has escaped. To her we shall bring order and relief. Her shackles once broken, then we shall stay our hand. To Cuba Libre, independent and free, we will leave the choice of her own future.

But this is easier said than done. Cuba Libre has no heart or will to choose. Her present nominal government is not that of a republic. It is a political oligarchy, which has its seat not in Havana, but in New York. Cuba is helpless now. As a republic she will be helpless still. Spanish blood and Spanish training illy prepare a land for freedom. Freedom such as we know it has never yet been won by people of Latin blood. The freedom of

Spanish America is for the most part military despotism. It is said of the government of Russia that it is "despotism tempered by assassination." That of most of our sister republics is assassination tempered by despotism. Mexico, the best of them, is not a republic; it is a despotism, the splendid tyranny of a man strong and wise, who knows Mexico and how to govern her, a humane and beneficent tyrant.

There are many noble men in Cuba, men of education and character, with the culture and bearing of gentlemen. Some of these I know, and one I have been proud to call my friend, Felipe Poey, during fifty years professor in the University of Havana. Most good men in Cuba hope for the success of the insurgents, but they have not much confidence in Cuban democracy. The common run of the Cuban population is of a very different class.

"The Cuban soldiers at Tampa," says John R. Rathom, "are very small, excitable, erratic, physically unfit. They go about the camps brandishing their machetes and telling our infantrymen who tower above them like giants, how they are going to cut the Spaniards to pieces. Their whole spirit is one of frothy boasting."

There are three things inseparable from the life of the Cuban people to-day, the cigarette, the lottery ticket, and the machete. These stand for vice, superstition and revenge. Above these the thoughts of the common man in Cuba seldom rise. Most of the people cannot read, and those who can read largely the literature of vice.

From my own visit to Havana, two keen recollections remain. In the early morning the markets are filled by a long procession of loaded burros who came down from the the mountain side. These bring everything that is eatable, with the rest live pigs and sheep. Pigs and sheep alike are tied in pairs and hung saddle-wise, head downward, from the backs of the donkeys. From two until four in the morning the long procession comes in, the pigs lustily squealing, the sheep helpless and dumb. But

nobody cares for an animal's pain. There is no society for prevention of cruelty to animals in Cuba. There are not many who could understand even the purpose of such a society. In Havana, bull-fights follow the church services, not fights but slaughter. A horse lame and blind is ripped up by an infuriated bull, who in turn is done to death by the stab of a skillful butcher.

At Christmas time all interest centers in the lottery. Everybody buys lottery tickets. Charms, fortune-tellers, astrology and all the machinery of superstition are brought into play to select the lucky numbers. How many days old am I? How many days old is my Dolores? How many days old was I on my lucky day when I drew the prize last year? How can I find my lucky number? These matters are talked of everywhere on the streets, in the church, in the wine rooms, in the theatres. One hears the parrots on their posts at the gate discussing the very same questions. The birds rattle off the names and numbers as glibly as their masters, and with as high a conception of the possibilities of life.

It seems probable that most of the oppressed people, crowded from their homes by Weyler's armies, will be dead before we come to their relief. In starving out Havana we shall doubtless starve them first. Those who survive may become our bitterest enemies before the year is out. For these people prefer the indolence of Spanish rule with all its brutalities to the bustling ways of the Anglo-Saxon. Many of them would take their chances of being starved or butchered rather than to build roads, wash their faces and clean up their towns. To suppress the lottery and the cock-fight would be to rob them of most that makes life worth living. The Puritan Sabbath and the self-control it typifies in their minds would be worse than the flames of Purgatory. Whether as a free nation under our protection or whether governed by our martial law, it will be no easy task to hold the peace in Cuba Libre. The down-trodden Cuban and the Spanish oppressor are the same in blood, the same in method.

But we may say that American enterprise will change all this. It will flow into Cuba when Cuba is free. It will clean up the cities, stamp out the fevers, build roads where the trails for mule-sleds are, and railroads where the current of traffic goes. It will make the pearl of the Antilles the fairest island on the face of the earth.

No doubt all this will come if we give a stable government. Whatever else we say or do we must give such a government. The nations of the world will hold us responsible for Cuba through the years to come. A virtual serfdom under American martial law is the fate of Cuba, though we may declare her free and independent.

Why then shall we not hold Cuba, if she becomes ours by right of conquest? Because that would be a cowardly thing to do. The justification of her capture is that we do not want her. If we want Cuba, common decency says that we must let her alone. Ours is a war of mercy, not of conquest. This we have plainly declared to all the nations. Perhaps we meant what we said, though the speeches in Congress do not make this clear. If we can trust the records, our chief motives were three: Desire for political capital, desire for revenge, and sympathy for humanity.

It was desire for political capital that forced the hand of the President. "The war," says Dr. Frank Drew, "did not begin as an honorable war. If it is to become such, it must be made honorable by other men than those whose votes committed us to it."

If we retire with clean hands, it will be because our hands are empty. To keep Cuba or the Philippines would be to follow the example of conquering nations. Doubtless England would do it in our place. The habit of domination makes men unscrupulous.

Professor Nicholson of Edinburgh has said: "There can be no question, in the light of history, that the political instinct of the English people—or to adopt the popular language of the moment, the original sin of the

nation—is to covet everything of its neighbors worth coveting, and it is not content until the sin is complete." No wonder England now pats us on the back. We are following her lead. We are giving to her methods the sanction of our respectability. Of all forms of flattery, imitation is the sincerest.

By a war of conquest fifty years ago we took from Mexico her fairest provinces. For the good of humanity we did it, no doubt, and along the lines of manifest destiny. Brave battles our soldiers fought, but for all that, the war itself was most inglorious. So it reads in history as we write it to-day. It is iniquitous in history as written in Mexico.

Shall then the war for Cuba Libre come to an inglorious end? If we make anything by it, it will be most inglorious. It will be without honor if its two millions a day are made good by conquered territory. Neither for conquest nor for revenge have we sent forth the army of the Republic. "Let us beware," says J. K. H. Burgwin, "of placing ourselves in the position of doing a noble and generous act and then demanding that a bankrupt and humbled enemy shall pay our expenses." If we are going to hold the prizes of war or to use them in thrifty trade we should never have set out on the errands of humanity.

The nations of Europe look with jealousy on our possibilities of strength. "If I only," some king may say—"if I only had all these men, all this land, all these resources, I would eclipse the glory of Cæsar of Charlemagne, of Napoleon." If we turned everything into fighting, what a fight we could make. But we have gone about our business, a vast nation of common people, careless of European complications, indifferent to European glory, unconscious of our power.

For the end of government by the people is to fit the people to control their own affairs. The basis of our government is the town meeting. The people manage their local business, and send their wisest men as delegates to

look after the interests of the nation. This was the dream of the fathers. If there has been much change and some degeneration, yet in substance the thoughts of the fathers prevail. The liberties of the people are secure because they are everywhere in the people's hands. America is not a power among the nations. She is a nation among the powers. A "power" is a country which is concerned with affairs not her own and which develops the machinery to make such concern effective. A nation minds her own business.

The spirit of our foreign policy has been to avoid all display of power. It was set forth in Washington's farewell address, in these memorable words:

"The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. * * * Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. * * * Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own stand upon foreign grounds? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice? It is our true course to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

The America of which Washington dreamed should grow strong within herself, should avoid entangling alliances with foreign nations, should keep out of all fights and all friendships that are not her own, should secure no territory that might not be self-governing, and should acquire no provinces that might not in time be numbered among the United States. To this policy his followers closely adhered. Even gratitude to France never made us her catspaw in her struggle against England. No outflow of sympathy has caused us to interfere in behalf of Ireland or Armenia or Greece.

But the world is smaller than in Washington's day. Steam and electricity have bound the world together. The interests of one nation are those of all nations. The interests of Armenia, Cape Colony and Ceylon are closer to us to-day than those of France and Germany were to our fathers. Traditions are worthy of respect only when they serve the real needs of the present. So it may be that with changed conditions the wise counsel of the past may be open to revision. Are times not already ripe for a change in national policy?

Let us look for a moment at the policy of England. The United States is great through minding her own business; England through minding the business of the world. In Norse mythology the Mitgard Serpent appears in the guise of a cat—a feeble creature to all appearance, but its body passes around the world, its tail growing down into its own throat and by its mighty strength it holds the world together. Such is England—the Mitgard Serpent of the nations, the assignee of bankrupt lands, the police force of disorderly ones. By the power of her will and brain she has made this an Anglo-Saxon planet.

No other agency of civilization has been so potent as England's enlightened selfishness. Her colonies are of three orders—friendly nations, subject nations and military posts. The larger colonies are little united states. They are republics and rule their own affairs. The subject nations and the military posts England rules by a rod of iron because no other rule is possible. Every year England seizes new posts, opens new ports and widens the stretch of her empire. But of all this Greater Britain, England herself is but a little part, the ruling head of a world-wide organism, "What does he know of England who only England knows." No doubt as Kipling says, England

"thinks her empire still
'Twixt the Strand and Holborn Hill,"

but the Strand would be half empty were it not that it leads outward to Cathay. The huge business interests of Greater Britain are the guaranty of her solidarity. All her parts must hold together.

In similar relation to the Mother Country, America must stand. Greater England holds over us the obligations of blood and thought and language and character. Only the Saxon understands the Saxon. Only the Saxon and the Goth know the meaning of freedom. "A sanction like that of religion," says John Hay, "enforces our partnership in all important affairs." Not that we should enter into formal alliance with Great Britain. We can get along well side by side, but never tied together. When England suggests a union for attack and defense, let us ask what she expects to gain from us. Never yet did England offer us the hand in open friendliness, in pure good faith, not hoping to get the best of the bargain. This is the English government, which never acts without interested motives. But the English people are our friends in every real crisis, and that without caring overmuch whether we be right or not. War with England should be forever impossible. The need of the common race is greater than the need of the nations. The Anglo-Saxon race must be at peace within itself. Nothing is so important to civilization as this. A war between England and America fought to the bitter end might submerge civilization. When the war should be over and the smoke cleared away there would be but one left, and that, Russia.

But though one in blood with England our course of political activities has not lain parallel with hers. We were estranged in the beginning, and we have had other affairs on our hands. We have turned our faces westward, and our work has made us strong. We have had our forests to clear, our prairies to break, our rivers to harness, our own problem of slavery to adjust. We have followed the spirit of Washington's address for a hundred years, until the movement of history has brought us to the

parting of the ways. Federalism or Imperialism—which shall it be?

In the direction of imperialism we have already taken certain steps. The promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine is one of these. Its original impulse was a jealous regard for the liberties of the republics of Latin America. We make no objection to the present occupation of parts of America by European powers, but we shall prevent by force any extension of such dominion. The cause of the Monroe Doctrine was the danger to republicanism through monarchial aggression. With the republics of America our interests were supposed to be in unison. But our real interests lie now in other directions. We have a thousand ties binding us to Europe for one to Latin America. Even Japan and China are more to us than the states of South America. Moreover, the republics we would guard are really only republics in name. They have no more of a republican spirit than has Italy or Spain, and vastly less than England or Germany. The aggressions of England on Venezuela which our strong protest prevented were really in the interest of civilization. These republics hate the United States, her people and her institutions. They resent our protection and repel our patronage, and as for us, we are likely to despise them rather than to love them. The guardian of the two Americas must use a strong hand if it would save all of its wards from barbarism.

So the Monroe Doctrine is not alone a willingness to protect our sister republics from European aggression. It must become a means of holding them in order. So long as the Monroe Doctrine is put forth, so long must we be in some degree surety for the good behavior of South America. This necessity has carried us away from our traditional attention to our own affairs. It will carry us still further unless the policy be reversed.

The purchase of Alaska marks another movement away from self-government. This vast, wild, resourceful land, unfit for habitation for the most part, unfit for self-

control, we have made a province of our republic. We have placed it under our flag, but the flag is all we have given it. On stretches of coast as long as that of California, dotted with fishing villages, the United States has exercised no authority whatever. Over the whole coast of Alaska, from Sitka to Point Barrow, there have been only scattering and sporadic efforts at national rule. With a population so weak and scattered, self-government is impossible, and we have no other form of government to offer. The condition of Alaska to-day is simply a disgrace to us. The host that fare to the Klondike make their own government as they go along. What little government Alaska had in the past has now been mostly withdrawn on account of the war with Spain. We need the patrol vessels for coast defense. This is as though we sent San Francisco police to garrison Manila. In public affairs we can never attend to two things at a time. Considering our possibilities and our intentions, we have treated the Aleutian Islands as shabbily as Spain has treated Cuba, and Russia has almost as good a right to protest against our ways as we have to protest against those of Spain.

This difference obtains. The natives of Alaska are gentle and tractable and away from the eyes of the world. They have no friends, no element of the picturesque, and our cruelty is not violence but neglect. We have wantonly allowed the destruction of the Sea Otter, their chief means of subsistence. We have wasted the sea-lion which furnishes their boats. Starvation and death are everywhere imminent in these coast settlements of Alaska, and the blame for it rests on us. "Reconcentrados" between Arctic snows and San Francisco greed, the Aleuts must starve and freeze. From Prince William's Sound to Attu, nearly fifteen hundred miles, not a village has a sure means of support left to-day.

According to latest reports from Port Etches, all the people of the village live together in the cellar of an abandoned warehouse. Wosnessenski was starving last

year. In Belkofski, Morjovi, Atka, Attu, and a half dozen other villages, the Company's store has been closed because the people can no longer pay for supplies. Civilization has made flour, sugar, tea and tobacco necessities of life, and these they can get no longer. From St. Lawrence we hear that the people have traded all their possessions for a cargo of "Florida Water," which is a polite name for raw whiskey, and have all starved to death after a week of debauch.

As our government is constituted men must govern themselves and send their delegates to Congress. For others we have no government at all. The great corporations in Alaska are still squatters on government land, and the disputes among their employees must be settled by blow of fist or they are not settled at all. Open warfare with knife and gun has existed more than once along the salmon rivers. This is not the fault of the companies. They are law-abiding enough when there is any law. "But there runs no law of God nor man to the north of fifty-three." The villages of Aleuts and Esquimaux are ruled by the Company store-keeper, and the Russian priest, each with authority unlimited and unsupported by law. The staunch laws of prohibition by which liquor is excluded from Alaska cannot enforce themselves, and no other adequate force is provided. The whole matter is a huge farce, and its necessary result is contempt for law. With a colonial bureau like that of England, the problems of ruling an inferior and dependent people would be simple enough. Such a bureau could take care of Alaska and could give good government to any territory over which our flag may float.

Such a bureau we must have if Alaska is not to remain a matter of public embarrassment. Such a bureau could operate Hawaii as well. Hawaii cannot govern itself under our federal forms. It is an oligarchy in the nature of things. Under colonial management it would be peaceful and prosperous. The more it had to do, the

more effective such a colonial bureau would become. Every governmental department tends to aggrandize itself. Colonies would demand more colonies. If we have Alaska already and are certain to take Hawaii, why not establish such a colonial bureau and manage them as England manages Hong Kong and Singapore and Jamaica? In the same way we may control Cuba, which falls as a ripe pear into our hands. And Porto Rico must go with Cuba. The Philippines are not very far away. They are nearer to San Francisco than Boston was to Philadelphia in the times of Washington, and the transfer of news is a matter of a few hours only. The Philippines are as large as New England and New York, with a population greater than all the Rocky Mountain country and the Pacific Slope combined. They have a hard population to manage, to be sure, a substratum of Kanakas and Malays, lazy and revengeful, over these a social layer of thrifty Chinese and canny Japanese, then next a Spanish aristocracy and a surface scum of the wanderers of all the world. In the unexplored interiors of the great islands live the wild tribes of *negritos*, untamed black imps as incapable of self-government or of any other government as so many monkeys. Spain has stood at the gateway of this rich land and taken toll of whatever goes out. This is all she has attempted. We could not do much more, but whatever is possible we can do as well as any one else. If we do not keep the Philippines they will surely fall into worse hands.

And all these territories are to-day virtually under the American flag. But why stop here? One great need of the world's commerce is a canal across the territory of Nicaragua, and we may seize that turbulent little republic as a guarantee for the security and neutrality of the canal. Then Costa Rica has her coffee fields and there is wondrous wealth in Guatemala. In the Caroline Islands we would find a good coaling station. We have literary interest in Samoa at least, and in the name of the Ladrones, the islands of the great thieves, we ought to find

something suggestive. An open port of our own on the coast of China would give our commerce its proper level of equality. Perhaps Swatow would suffice for us after Russia, and Germany, and France, and England has each made its choice.

Then there are the Blue Canaries. From the tall peak of Teneriffe we can overlook the entrance to the Mediterranean and keep our watch on the politics of Europe. As England is the assignee of bankrupt Egypt, shall we not seize the assets of bankrupt Spain? To be sure we come in late in the game of territorial expansion. We must take what we can get, and we cannot get much except by force. Still we must have it. For all this and more, according to Theodore Roosevelt and a host of others is our "manifest destiny." To help along "manifest destiny," is the purpose of the war with Spain. The spell is on us and it is the more irresistible because it came unawares. Recently in an address in Boston, Richard Olney, one of the wisest of our public men, who checked the bold, bad British Lion by a bluff as big as the lion's own roar, made a vigorous plea for national expansion. He says:

"But it is even a more pitiful ambition for such a country to aim to seclude itself from the world at large, and to live a life as isolated and independent as if it were the only country on the footstool. A nation is as much a member of society as an individual. * * * Does a foreign question or controversy present itself, appealing however forcibly to our sympathies or sense of right—what happens the moment it is suggested that the United States should seriously participate in its settlement? A shiver runs through all the ranks of capital, lest the uninterrupted course of money-making be interfered with; the cry of 'Jingo!' comes up in various quarters; advocates of peace at any price make themselves heard from innumerable pulpits and rostrums; while practical politicians invoke the doctrine of the Farewell Address as an absolute bar to all positive action. The upshot is more or less an explosion of sympathy or antipathy at more or less public meetings, and, if the case is a very strong one, a more or less tardy tender by the Government of its 'moral support.' Is that a creditable part for a great nation to play in the affairs of the world? * * * This country was once the pioneer, and is now the millionaire. It behooves it to recognize the changed conditions, and to realize its great place among the power, of the earth. It behooves it to accept the commanding position belonging to its

with all its advantages on the one hand, and all its burdens on the other. It is not enough for it to vaunt its greatness and superiority, and call upon the rest of the world to admire and be duly impressed. Posing before less favored peoples as an exemplar of the superiority of American institutions may be justified and may have its uses; but posing alone is like answering the appeal of a mendicant by bidding him admire your own sleekness, your own fine clothes and handsome house, and your generally comfortable and prosperous condition. He possibly should do that and be grateful for the spectacle, but what he really asks and needs is a helping hand. The mission of this country, if it has one, and I verily believe it has, is not merely to pose, but to act—and, while always governing itself by prudence and common sense and making its own special interests the first and paramount objects of its care, to forego no fitting opportunity to further the progress of civilization practically as well as theoretically by timely deeds as well as by eloquent words. There is such a thing for a nation as a 'splendid isolation'—as when, for a worthy cause, for its own independence, or dignity, or vital interests, it unshrinkingly opposes itself to a hostile world. But isolation that is nothing but the shirking of the responsibility of high place and great power is simply ignominious."

"The doors to that 'shining destiny' are open wide," says a late writer in the San Francisco *Chronicle*. "Shall the Nation pass them or shall it shrink back into itself and leave to other and braver hands the prizes of the future. To broaden out in the field of enterprise and acquisition is the duty of the Republic, to strengthen itself whenever it safely can, to do its part in redeeming the victims of ignorance as well as of cruelty, to gather to itself the riches that will free it from debt, and make its influence paramount in the world's affairs as the greatest part of the Anglo-Saxon brotherhood; to plant itself in the midst of events, and mold them to its mighty purpose."

Such is the dream of American imperialism. Its prizes lie in our hands unasked. The fates have forced them upon us. But before we seize them, now let us ask what it will cost? First, it will cost life and money in rich measure. Kipling tells us the cost of British Admiralty:

We have fed our sea for a thousand years,
And she calls us still unfed,
Though there's never a wave of all her waves
But marks our English dead.
We've strewed our best to the weeds' unrest,
To the shark and the sheering gull;
If blood be the price of admiralty
Lord God! we have paid it in full.

There's never a flood goes shoreward now
But lifts a keel we have manned;
There's never an ebb goes seaward now
But drops our dead on the sand;
But slinks our dead on the strand forlore
From the Ducies to the Swin;
If blood be the price of admiralty,
Lord God! we have paid it in.

We must feed our sea for a thousand years
For that is our doom and pride,
As it was when they sailed with the golden Hind,
Or the wreck that struck last tide;
Or the wreck that lies on the spouting reef,
When the ghastly blue-lights flare:
If blood be the price of admiralty,
My God, we have paid it fair.

If we have a navy that can make history we must pay for it as England does, not only in blood but in cold, hard cash. This means more taxes, heavy taxes, more expenditures, more waste. It means the revision of our tax laws, a tariff for revenue only with every element of protection for American industries squeezed out of them. The government will need all it can get. We must manage our colonies that they may yield revenue. We must cherish commerce as we have tried to cherish manufacture, and we must cherish manufacture and agriculture through commerce. Much more of a navy we need to preserve ourselves from imbecility. One victory like that of Manila may save us from a dozen insults, and we must have the means to win such victories.

So far this would not be unmixed evil, perhaps no evil at all. But we must go farther. Imperialism demands the maintenance of a standing army large enough to carry out whatever we undertake. We must wholly change our pension laws and deal with the veteran on a basis of business not of sentiment. Imperialism leaves no place for sentiment in public affairs. To maintain strong armies the nations of continental Europe sacrifice everything else. The people are loaded with armor till they

cannot rise, and they dare not throw it off. Even to-day Italy is on the verge of a revolution, and the cause is the cost of the army. The Italian proverb says that if one throws a stone from a window it will hit a soldier or a priest, and the farmer pays for both.

The whole world must become the range of our interest. We must make every American's house his castle from Kamchatka to Kerguelen. We must be quick to revenge and strong to bluff. We must never fight when the issue is doubtful and never fail to fight if there is a point to be gained. We must give up our foolish notion that America is big enough to maintain a separate basis of coinage, a freeman's scale of wages, a peculiar republican social order different from that of the rest of mankind. We must open our own doors as we would push open the doors of the world. We must change the character of our diplomacy. We must make statecraft a profession. Hitherto we have sent out our embassadors because to do so is the fashion among nations, not because we have anything for them to do. Hereafter they must go out to spread American influences. The plain, blunt, effective truth-telling of our present diplomacy must give way to the power to carry our point. We must not send men to foreign countries because we do not want them at home. The dull incompetence of our consular service must give way to a system of trained agents. And this, too, has its compensating reactions. As our foreign service is made effective it will become dignified. This will help our relations abroad because foreign nations judge us by the quality of our representatives.

Our government must be changed for our changing needs. We must give up the checks and balances in our constitution. It is said that our great battleship Oregon can turn about end for end within her own length. The dominant nation must have the same power. She must

be capable of reversing her action in a minute, of turning around within her own length. This "our prate of statute and of state" makes impossible. We shall receive many hard knocks before we reach this condition, but we must reach it if we are to "work mightily" in the affairs of the world. If we are to deal with crises in foreign affairs we must hold them with a steadier grasp than that with which we have held the Cuban question. We cannot move accurately and quickly under the joint leadership of a conservative and steady-headed President, a hysterical or venal Senate and a House intent upon its own re-election. That kind of checks and balances we must lay aside forever. As matters are now, President, Senate and House check each other's movements and the State falls over its own feet.

The government of the United States is the expression of the transient will of the people, so hemmed in by checks and balances that positive action is difficult whatever the will of the majority for the moment may be. This is the government for peace and self-defense, but not for aggression. The government of England expresses the permanent will of the intelligent people with such checks as shut out ignorance and control incompetence. The nation and not the individual man is the unit in its actions.

Towards the English system we must approach more and more closely if we are to deal with foreign affairs in large fashion. The town-meeting idea must give way to centralization of power. We must look away from our own affairs, neglect them if you please, until the pressure of growing expenditure forces us to attend to them again, and to attend to them more carefully than we ever yet have done. Good government at home must precede good government of dependencies. One reason England is governed well is that misgovernment anywhere on any

large scale would be fatal to her credit and fatal to her power. She must call her best men to her political service, because without them she would perish.

It may be that the choice of imperialism is already made. If so, we shall learn the lesson of dominion in the hardest school of experience. That we shall ultimately learn it I have no doubt, for ours is a nation of apt scholars. We shall hold our own in war and diplomacy, we shall tie the hands of turbulent nations and seize the assets of bankrupt ones, and we shall teach the art of money-making to the dependent nations who shall be our wards and slaves.

Some great changes in our system are inevitable, and belong to the course of natural progress. Against them I have nothing to say. Whatever our part in the affairs of the world we should play it manfully. But with all this I believe that the movement toward broad dominion so eloquently outlined by Mr. Olney, would be a step downward. It would be to turn from our highest purposes to drift with the current of manifest destiny. It would be not to do the work of America, but to follow the ways of the rest of the world. I make no plea for indifference or self-sufficienecy or isolation for isolation's sake. To shirk from world movements or to drift with the current is alike unworthy of our origin and destiny. Only this I urge; let our choice be made with open eyes, not at the dictates of chance disguised as "Manifest Destiny." Unforgetting, open-eyed, counting all the cost, let us make our decision. Let ours be sober, fearless, prayerful choice. The federal republic—the imperial republic —which shall it be?

There are three main reasons for opposing every step toward imperialism. First, dominion is brute force; second, dependent nations are slave nations; third, the making of men is greater than the building of empires.

As to the first of these: The extension of dominion rests on the strength of arms. Men who cannot hold town meetings must obey through brute force. In Alaska, for example, our occupation is a farce and scandal. Only force can make it otherwise. Only by force can the masses of Hawaii or Cuba be held to industry and order. To furnish such power, we shall need a colonial bureau, with its force of extra-national police. A large army and navy must justify itself by doing something. Army and navy we must maintain for our own defense, but beyond that they can do little that does not hurt, and they must be used if they would be kept alive. Even warfare for humanity falls to the level of other wars, and all wars according to Benjamin Franklin, are bad, some worse than others. The rescue of the oppressed is only accomplished by the use of force against the oppressor. The lofty purposes of humanity are forgotten in the joy of struggle and the pride of conquest.

The other reasons concern the integrity of the Republic itself. This was the lesson of slavery, that no republic can "endure half slave and half free." The republics of antiquity fell because they were republics of the few only, for each citizen rested on the backs of nine slaves. A republic cannot be an oligarchy as well. The slaves destroy the republic. Whenever we have inferior and dependent races within our borders to-day, we have a political problem—"the Negro problem," "the Chinese problem," "the Indian problem." These problems we slowly solve. Industrial training and industrial pride make a man of the Negro. Industrial interest may even make a man of the Chinaman, and the Indian disappears as our civilization touches him.

But in the tropics such problems are perennial and insoluble. Cuba, Manila, Nicaragua, will be slave territories for centuries to come. These people in such a cli-

mate can never have self government in the Anglo-Saxon sense. Whatever form of control we adopt, we shall be in fact slave-drivers, and the business of slave-driving will react upon us. Slavery itself was a disease which came to us from the British West Indies. It breeds in the tropics like yellow fever and leprosy. Can even an imperial republic last, part slave, part free?

But England endures, and her control of slave territories is her "doom and pride." What then of British imperialism? From the standpoint of imperialism England is an oligarchy, not a republic. Her government is not self-rule, but the direction of commerce. It is admiralty rather than democracy. Americans govern themselves. Englishmen are ruled by the government of their own choosing. Englishmen govern themselves in municipal affairs, and in ways from which we have much to learn. In foreign affairs their huge governmental machine, backed by the momentum of tradition, is all-powerful. This rules Ireland, India, Gibralter, Egypt, all England's dependencies and wards. The other colonies are republics in fact. Canada, New Zealand, the states of Australia—these are republics bound to keep the peace with the mother country, but in no other way controlled by her. Only ties of sentiment bind Canada to England. In all practical matters, she is one with the United States.

The stronger the governmental machine, and the more adjustable its powers, the better the government. But government is not the main business of a republic. If good government were all, democracy would not deserve half the effort that is spent upon it. For the function of democracy is not to make government good. It is to make men strong. Better government than any republic has yet enjoyed could be had in simpler and cheaper ways. The automatic scheme of competitive examination would give us better service at half the

present cost. Even an ordinary intelligence office, or statesman's employment bureau would serve us better than conventions and elections. Government too good as well as too bad may have a baneful influence on men. The purpose of self-government is to intensify individual responsibility, to promote attempts at wisdom, through which true wisdom may come at last. The republic is a huge laboratory of civics, a laboratory in which strange experiments are performed, but by which, as in other laboratories, wisdom may arise from experience, and once arisen may work itself out into virtue.

It is not true that the government "which is best administered is best." That is the maxim of tyranny. That government is best which makes the best men. In the training of manhood lies the certain pledge of better government in the future. The civic problems of the future will be greater than those of the past. They will concern not the relation of nation to nation, but of man to man. The policing of far-off islands, the maintenance of the machinery of imperialism are petty things beside the duties which the higher freedom demands. To turn to these empty and showy affairs, is to neglect our own business for the gossip of our neighbors. Such work may be a matter of necessity; it should not be a source of pride. The political greatness of England has never lain in her navies nor the force of her arms. It has lain in her struggles for individual freedom. Not Marlborough nor Nelson nor Wellington is its exponent. Let us say rather Pym and Hampden, and Gladstone and Bright. The real problems of England have always been at home. The pomp of imperialism, the display of naval power, the commercial control of India and China,—all these are as the "bread and circuses" by which the Roman emperors held the mob from their thrones. They keep the people busy and put off the day of final reckoning. "Gild the dome of the Invalides," was Napoleon's cynical command,

when he learned that the people of Paris were becoming desperate.

The people of England seek blindly for a higher justice, a loftier freedom, and so the ruling ministry crowns the good queen as "Empress of India." Meanwhile, the real problems of civilization develop and ripen. They care nothing for the greatness of empire nor the glitter of imperialism. They must be solved by men, and each man must help solve his own problems. The development of republican manhood is just now the most important matter that any nation in the world has on hand. We have been fairly successful thus far, but perhaps only fairly. Our government is careless, wasteful, and unjust, but our men are growing self-contained and wise. Despite the annual invasion of foreign illiteracy, the individual intelligence of men stands higher in America than in any other part of the world. The bearing of the people at large in these days is a lesson in itself. I watched the crowds around the bulletin boards the other night in San Francisco. These men were laborers, for the most part, loafers some of them, not as a whole belonging to the favored classes. But they did not form a mob. They were there as so many individuals. They did not lose their heads. They kept the bearing and the reserve of gentlemen. I saw no rowdyism, no disorder, no raw enthusiasm. The war news, false or true, placarded on the walls, was exciting in its nature, but the men were not excited; they were ready to act when the time came for action. They gave no vulgar display of sentiment when action was impossible. Compare the behavior of the American people, in this and other trying times, with that of the masses of any other nation, and we see what democracy has done. And we shall see more of this as our history goes on. Free schools, free ballot, free thought, free religion—all tend to enforce self-reli-

ance, self-respect, and the sense of duty, which are the surest foundation of national greatness.

An active foreign policy would slowly change much of this. The nation which deals with war and diplomacy must be quick to act and quick to change. It must, like the Oregon, be able to reverse itself within its own length. To this end, good government is a necessity, whether it be self-government or not. Democracy yields before diplomacy. Republicanism steps aside when war is declared. "An army," said Wellington, " can get along under a poor general. It can do nothing under a debating society." In war the strongest man must lead, and military discipline is the only training for an army. In a militant nation the same rules hold in peace as in war. We cannot try civic experiments with a foe at our gates. A foe is always at the gates of a nation with a vigorous foreign policy. The British nation is hated and feared of all nations except our own. Only her eternal vigilance keeps the vultures from her coasts. Eternal vigilance of this sort will strengthen governments, will build up nations; it will not in like degree make men. The day of the nations as nations is passing. National ambitions, national hopes, national aggrandizement—all these may become public nuisances. Imperialism like feudalism belongs to the past. The men of the world as men, not as nations, are drawing closer and closer together. The needs of commerce are stronger than the will of nations, and the final guarantee of peace and good will among men will be not " the parliament of nations," but the self-control of men.

But whatever the outcome of the present war, whatever the fateful twentieth century may bring, the primal duty of Americans is never to forget that men are more than nations; that wisdom is more than glory, and virtue more than dominion of the sea. The kingdom of God is

within us. The nation exists for its men, never the men for the nation. "The only government that I recognize," said Thoreau, "and it matters not how few are at the head of it or how small its army, is the power that established justice in the land, never that which establishes injustice." And the will of free men to be just one toward another, is our best guarantee that "government of the people, for the people, and by the people, shall not perish from the earth."

God of our fathers, known of old—
Lord of our far-flung battle line—
Beneath whose awful Hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

The tumult and the shouting dies—
The captains and the kings depart—
Still stands Thine ancient Sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

Far-called our navies melt away—
On dune and headland sinks the fire—
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre!
Judge of the Nations, spare us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE.

CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

AT

THE ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT,

21ST MARCH, 1896.

Carlton, Melbourne:

FORD & SON, PRINTERS, 372 & 374 DRUMMOND STREET.

MDCCCXCVI.

No. 17

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE.

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AT

THE ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT,

21ST MARCH, 1896.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY, MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, MR. WARDEN, AND MEMBERS OF THE SENATE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is my pleasing duty to offer on behalf of the whole University our warmest thanks to your Excellency and Lady Brassey for the honour you have done us by being present at this Annual Ceremonial; and to express our earnest hope that your residence in Victoria may be both happy and prosperous. Coming amongst us in a time of depression we sincerely trust that you may have the gratification, before you leave our shores, of seeing the advent of a bright era in the history of Victoria; in which the University may be conspicuous by its educational progress and financial prosperity. We give your Excellency a

very cordial and hearty welcome, not only as the re
Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, but also as
University, in the advancement of which we since
confidently believe that you will take a deep, activ
thetic interest; and we accept the fact of your
become a Member of the Senate as a pledge of
feeling towards us.

THE DEATH OF THE RIGHT HONORAI CULLING EARDLEY CHILDERS,

It is my most painful duty to record the recent dea
and highly esteemed friend and former colleagu
Honorable Hugh Culling Eardley Childers, P.C., t
Chancellor of the University of Melbourne. To hi
farsightedness we owe the foundation of this nc
important institution. It was he, when Auditor-G
Colony in 1853, who, during a time of most extraor
ment, but of great financial prosperity, caused by
of gold in Victoria, happily seized the opportuni
Victorian Exchequer was full, to introduce a
Legislative Council for incorporating and endowing
sity. This Bill was passed by the Legislature on
January, 1853, became law on the 9th of February
year, and the University was opened for teach
1855.

Before his appointment as Auditor-General, Mr. Childers had
en Inspector of Schools; and this gave him such a thorough
sight into the educational wants of Victoria as to convince him
at no satisfactory scheme could be devised for elevating the
andard of learning throughout the country without having as
corner stone the establishment and endowment of an Uni-
rsity. To the late Mr. Childers, therefore, the University of
elbourne owes its existence, and his memory ought ever to be
ld dear not only by its *alumni* and the people of Victoria,
t also by all who take an interest in the advancement of the
igher Learning throughout the world.

After rendering very important services to this colony, Mr.
ilders returned to England in 1857, where his eminent
ilities raised him to the position of one of the most
stinguished statesmen in the old country; and his death is
ourned by the British nation as a national calamity.

DEATH OF THE HONORABLE SIR SAMUEL WILSON, KNT.

NCE the last Annual Commencement death has also laid his
ld hand upon a generous benefactor of the University, Sir
muel Wilson, to whose princely munificence the University
es the possession of this noble Hall, which bears his name.
e Council has already recorded its sincere regret at this sad

event, and its deep sympathy with Lady W
family.

DEATH OF THE HONORABLE FRANK DOBSON, LL.D.

We have also to mourn the loss of one of our ol
respected Lecturers, Dr. Frank Stanley Dobson, an
has not failed to record its appreciation of his valua
the University as Lecturer in Law for thirty-two y
expressed its sympathy and condolence with hi
family in their severe bereavement.

PROGRESS OF THE UNIVERSIT

The number of Students presenting themselves
Matriculation Examinations in 1895 was 1350; (
were men, and 501 women students. The latter we
successful in obtaining Honours in French, Gerr
Geometry and Trigonometry, English and History
Physiology.

The number of Students attending Lectures a
themselves at the Ordinary Examinations has also b

ATTENDANCE UPON LECTURES

During the past year (1895) 693 Students atten
and were classed as follows:—

171	in Arts	48	being Women Students.
7	in Science... ...	2	„ „ „
80	in Law		
237	in Medicine ...	14	being Women Students.
55	in Engineering ...		
143	in Music	129	being Women Students.
Total 693		193	

ORDINARY EXAMINATIONS.

THE total number of students presenting themselves at the Ordinary Examinations in the past year (1895) was 613, of whom 474 entered for regular courses for degrees; the remainder consisted of Articled Clerks, Certificated Teachers and those taking single subjects.

GRADUATION.

November, 1895, 23 direct Degrees were conferred.

In December, 1895, 36 Degrees were conferred; of these 34 were direct and 2 *ad eundem.*

On this day 86 Degrees have been conferred; of these 82 were direct and 4 *ad eundem.*

The total number of Degrees conferred since the last Annual Commencement being 145.

RESIGNATIONS AND APPOINTMENTS.

On the 1st of April, 1895, Mr. T. M. Girdlestone, F.R.C.S resigned the office of Lecturer in Surgery, on account health, after having held it with great advantage t University and with credit to himself for many years.

On the 29th of April, Mr. F. D. Bird, M.B., C M.R.C.S.Eng., was appointed Lecturer in Surgery in Girdlestone's place.

Mr. F. M. Krause, C. and M. Engineer, F.L.S., F.G.S. appointed Lecturer on Mining in the place of Mr. Nicl F.G.S., resigned.

Mr. A. C. Halford, M.B., Ch.B., was appointed an Hon Assistant Demonstrator of Pathology.

Mr. T. Hodgson, M.B., Ch.B., and Dr. W. A. Wood, M Ch.B., were appointed Honorary Assistant Demonstrator Anatomy.

On September 17th, 1895, Professor Marshall Hall re-appointed Ormond Professor of Music for five years, January 1st, 1896.

On October the 7th, 1895, Mr. A. W. Howitt, F.G.S., appointed a member of the University Extension Board, in of Mr. C. A. Topp, M.A.

On December 2nd, 1895, Mr. G. H. Neighbour, M.A., L was appointed a Lecturer in Law, *vice* Dr. Dobson, deceased.

ELECTION OF CHANCELLOR AND VICE-CHANCELLOR.

the 6th of May, 1895, Sir Anthony Colling Brownless, M.G., M.D., LL.D., was re-elected Chancellor, and the ›urable Sir John Madden, Knt., LL.D., B.A., Vice-cellor for the ensuing year.

ELECTIONS TO THE COUNCIL.

A. W. Howitt, F.G.S., was on the 12th of July, 1895, ›d a Member of the Council in the place of Mr. C. A. Topp, , whose period of office expired on the 23rd of June, and did not seek re-election.

Ir. William Thwaites, M.A., C.E., was on the 8th of mber, 1895, re-elected a Member of the Council, his term fice having expired in October.

DONATIONS.

most important Donations to the Library are :—

- Completion of the "Voyage of the Challenger," making fifty volumes, presented by the British Government.
- "Architectural Details of Jeypore," six portfolios, presented by the Maharajah of Jeypore.
- "Architectural Remains of Anuradhapura, Ceylon," folio, presented by the Government of Ceylon.

THE UNIVERSITY CORPS OF OFFICERS

(For the Year Ending 31st December, 1895).

Strength of Corps - - -	36
Passed for Lieutenants - -	4

The establishment of the Corps has been fixed at forty members. Some of the former members have left the University during the year, and there are, consequently, several vacancies, but it is not anticipated there will be any difficulty in bringing the Corps up to its full strength.

It is hoped now that the Corps has made a good start, that members will find it convenient to attend as many parades as possible, with a view to "efficiency;" the minimum number of parades required for efficiency is twenty-four, during the University year.

The Major-General Commanding at his last inspection in October, 1895, expressed his satisfaction with the efficiency of the Corps, and his desire that they should continue to improve, with a view to members joining other branches of the Service should they so desire.

Although the University of Melbourne has done, and is doing, a large amount of important work for the whole community, it is most painful to those who devote their time gratuitously in its service and take a deep interest in its progress to know that a considerable portion of this community fails to recognise that it is a thoroughly national and democratic institution, open to the humblest student, and that its honours and degrees may be obtained by men and women of every class and creed, provided they possess the necessary ability and industry to secure them.

Many people speak of the University as if it were a financial institution maintained for the benefit of the rich, and they profess to believe that those who manage it reap some pecuniary reward and have an interest in imposing high fees, thus discouraging poor students from entering within its walls. This is not only a great mistake, but it is productive of most serious and injurious consequences as regards the finances of the University; for such false statements, widely circulated, cannot fail to have a prejudicial influence on those who hold the strings of the public purse, as well as on wealthy men of liberal and noble minds desirous of bestowing a portion of their riches on institutions founded for the benefit of their fellow-citizens, without distinction of class or creed.

But how contrary to fact are these misrepresentations! The very lowest fees are charged, consistent with obtaining a sufficient income to pay the necessary expenses of the University; and

the members of the Council are honorary officers, discha the best of their ability, the duties which have been ent them without receiving any salary or emolument f services.

Persons occupying the highest positions in Victoria neighbouring colonies have obtained their academic trair their professional degrees from this University; and number of them frankly acknowledge that if it had not the valuable Exhibitions and Scholarships offered by the sity, and which they won by their ability and indust would never have been able to enter professional life.

Again, the doors of the University are open to all whether Matriculated or Non-Matriculated, who may attend lectures on any subject which may be useful t without incurring the expense of entering on a full co a degree; whilst for original research, carried on ur direction of the Professors, the laboratories in the depa of Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Biology, Physiolo Pathology are open *gratis*, except as regards such payr material and special attendance as may be considered n by the Professors. Thus the University is available who wish to fit themselves for any particular occupa improve themselves by extending their knowledge in Sci Literature.

Amongst other advantages offered to poor students, the wness of the fees should be remembered. The total cost of the urses of lectures for the Degree of B.A., extending over three ars and including Examinations, is only £37 16s., or at the te of £12 12s. per annum, which is allowed to be paid in three stalments for the convenience of the poorer students, who have e privilege of receiving the highest academic teaching at a cost nsiderably less than the fees charged by the Grammar Schools r boys in their upper classes.

To show how largely the University has been used, and how eatly it must have influenced the education of the people in all nks of society, I may mention that since the opening of the niversity in 1855, the number of Students presenting themlves at the Matriculation Examinations has been 25,739, of hom 9,285 passed in all the subjects necessary to Matriculate d become Undergraduates; whilst the remainder passed in a sser number than would have entitled them to do so; and up the end of last year 2,324 persons had been admitted to egrees, as shown in the following table. To-day 86 have been ded to that number, making the total number of Degrees nferred 2,410; beside 36 Civil Engineers who passed under e Old Regulations.

the members of the Council are honorary officers, discharging, the best of their ability, the duties which have been entrusted them without receiving any salary or emolument for the services.

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B.A.	671	M.D.	134
M.A.	431	Ch.B.	283
B.Sc.	12	Ch.M.	6
M.Sc.	5	B.C.E.	64
D.Sc.	2	M.C.E. ...	38
LL.B.	219	Mus. Bac. ...	3
LL.M.	37	Mus. Doc. ...	1
LL.D.	30		
M.B.	388		2,324

And this naturally brings me to speak of the pres unsatisfactory financial position of the University, and of urgent necessity of devising means to secure the perman efficiency of its teaching and its further development; for this age of progress no institution of this kind can hold own without keeping *en rapport* with the most rec researches in Science and Literature and with the m approved modes of teaching.

In consequence of the very large reduction made in t Annual Income of the University by Parliament, the Coun has been placed in circumstances of the greatest difficulty, a has only been able to fulfil its legal engagements and prese the efficiency of the University teaching by great retrenchm in every department, and by largely reducing the remunera of the teachers and of the officers and servants of the Univer

Now, as our engagements are permanent, and were entered ıto with the express consent and approval of the various overnments in power when they were made, it is to be hoped ıat not only will no further reductions in the Annual Vote ɔ made, but that that vote will be replaced by a permanent ndowment of such an amount as to enable the Council to ırry on the work of the University in a manner that will ılly sustain the high prestige which it has already gained ıd enable it to remain one of the most important institutions the southern hemisphere, on which Victoria can look with nest pride and other countries with admiration.

I appeal to the people of Victoria, and ask them whether they ill permit this great University to languish for the want of a w thousand pounds a year. I ask them whether they will low this noble and useful institution, in which their sons and ughters are receiving a liberal education of the highest kind, sink into a second-class University for the want of a small rmanent endowment, the amount of which would hardly be lt by the Victorian Exchequer, even in these times of financial pression. I ask the people of this Colony to leave in the niversity a glorious heritage to their posterity, and thereby alise, during their own lives, the motto of this institution:— Postera Crescam laude." And how can this be accomplished? ndoubtedly through your representatives in Parliament.

The voice of the people, raised on behalf of an institut essential to the welfare of society and the reputation and l of the country, must not only be heard with respec attention by your representatives, but it must be obey them.

The Higher Education of the people is removed fro arena of party politics, and demands from every one the serious consideration and most earnest support. I therefore that before Parliament shall meet again after the present r the members of the Legislative Assembly will have had urgent necessity for an adequate increase in the *perma* endowment of the University so impressed upon their m that they will take the earliest opportunity of introduci Bill for that purpose, and that it will be passed during next session of Parliament. This is the way in which finances of the University may be placed on a satisfa basis, and security obtained for the permanent mainten of the University in a high state of efficiency.

To you, Ladies and Gentlemen, I make an earnest appe aid, by the means I have indicated, in obtaining su permanent increase, in the Annual Endowment as is nece for this purpose; and I appeal more especially to the ladies, still wield at the Courts of Sovereigns, and in the Cabine Statesmen, the same powerful influence which they have held during the world's history.

I wish now to draw your attention to another way in which e funds of the University might be greatly increased, viz., by nefactions from private individuals, which have so largely sisted the Universities of Sydney and Adelaide, and many of e Universities of England and Scotland, whilst a large number the great Universities and similar institutions in the United ates owe their existence and the funds for their maintenance, olly or principally, to the princely munificence of private nors.

The very large retrenchment which our University has dergone recently at the hands of Parliament brings home to us e fact, not noticed in more prosperous times, that it owes, obably, less than any in the British Empire to private nefactions or bequests.

I will therefore avail myself of this favourable opportunity ventilate this subject, with the view of calling public attention its importance, and of leading to some practical results in vour of the University.

The financial history of the University of Melbourne may be iefly told. The State granted a splendid site and provided nds for the original buildings, together with a permanent dowment of £9,000. The University was fortunate in uring as its first Professors a group of four able men, who a time sufficed for the Arts Course. Soon, however,

professional subjects began to be taught, and Lecturer Law and Engineering were appointed. Subsequently, Medical School was founded, the present able Profess Physiology was selected in London, and the necessary of Lecturers and Demonstrators was appointed. Under guidance the classes steadily grew. New buildings, classes, new teachers, were required.

At the instance of successive Governments, Parlia made grants for buildings and appliances, and, provided annual votes, an increasing sum for supplementary endown Thus the new Library was added, the new Medical S came into existence, the Chemical Laboratories were re structed, and the teaching power of the University was exte by new and excellent Institutes of Biology and Ph The teaching staff was gradually augmented till it incl fourteen Professors, seventeen Lecturers, four Demonstr and Assistant Lecturers, together with a number of Demonstrators and Assistants.

The highest amount received from the State in any yea maintenance purposes was £17,250, and an almost equal was received in the same year in students' fees. During time what had been done by private benefactors? The orable Sir Samuel Wilson presented to the University stately Hall in which we are now assembled. The Rev Mr. Hastie bequeathed to the University, for general pur

ı of which the capital value is now £19,140. The Hon- : Francis Ormond endowed the Chair of Music with 00. Other benefactors have founded Scholarships, Exhi- s, and Prizes with a total annual value of about £1,500. hese acts of munificence the University is, and will ever n, most grateful.

ıt much remains to be done which might be accomplished eans of generous benefactions, to be applied in part to ɔnal buildings, in part to extending the field of instruction, is obvious that the yearly permanent endowment by the would have to be much greater than we can reasonably 'or, if it is to cover any considerable outlay under either of very pressing items. As regards buildings there is not one ːment of the University that is adequately accommodated ɜsent; and as our numbers grow, the want assumes sing urgency year by year; while subjects of absolutely al importance, such as Metallurgical Assaying, must of ity remain almost wholly neglected.

ere is urgent need of a New School of Engineering; the al Library requires a large building for its proper housing; ɔh larger building is required for the Library of the al School, and a large room is also greatly needed, where 7 students attending that school may rest between lectures. ıalf of the Pathological Museum has yet been completed, ɨecial Laboratories for Pathology are still absent; the east,

west and south sides of the Cloisters are unbuilt; an unfinished front of the main building is a disgrace t University. All these are matters of pressing necessity; if there be any wealthy and generous Victorians who foster a love of Art in the University, let me remind them the apse intended to complete the northern end of the W Hall, and designed for the reception of the Grand Orga not yet been built; and that the great windows of the sadly lack the glory of colour, which adds so much t beauty of Gothic Architecture.

Referring to the extension of instruction, it is self-e that the constitution of the staff, framed to meet the educa needs of half a generation back, cannot be equal to the wa to-day, and that therefore the sub-division of the wo existing Chairs and the creation of New Lectureships are m of supreme importance.

I therefore need not apologise, for taking this legit opportunity to make an earnest appeal to those possess wealth to come to the aid of the University; for it is to p beneficence that we must look for its full development, a no small degree, for its permanent security and independenc

Wonderful, indeed, have been the records of private m cence in the cause of higher education elsewhere.

I need not remind you of the glorious foundations of Bishop illiam Wykeham of Winchester, of Bishop Wayneflete, of dy Margaret Beaufort, of Cardinal Wolsey, of Sir Thomas dley, and countless others in Oxford and Cambridge. Nor ve the people of England, in recent times, been unmindful of eir duty in providing higher education; and numerous noble titutions have been founded and endowed by private benefi-ce. Amongst these the Mason College at Birmingham, erected d endowed by Sir Josiah Mason, at a cost of £200,000; the ens College, Manchester; the Firth College at Sheffield; the hitworth Scholarships, founded by Sir Joseph Whitworth, at a t of £100,000; Newnham and Girton Colleges at Cambridge, d the Oxford Halls for the higher education of women, may be membered as some of many recent private foundations that found to the praise of British generosity.

Scotland too, has, within recent years, been most bounteous her gifts for the promotion of the higher learning. The nd reconstruction of the buildings of the University of erdeen by Dr. Mitchell; the magnificent hall erected by . McEwan for the University of Edinburgh; the new and tly hall presented to the University of Glasgow by the rquis of Bute; the bequest of £100,000 to the University St. Andrews by Mr. Berry; and the foundation and dowment of University College, Dundee, by Miss and Dr. hn Baxter, are some of the many benefactions recently eived by the Universities of Scotland.

But, in our time, the United States of America show most splendid examples of Educational Endowments.

Harvard University has now a Capital Fund of £2,400 and has £8,000 a year available for pecuniary aid to Ui graduates. Mr. Johns Hopkins created the University Hospital bearing his name at Baltimore, at a cost of £1,200, Mr. Durant founded the Wellesley University for Women cost of over £160,000, and others increased the endowme £327,000. Ezra Cornell and Henry W. Sage built up Cornell University, the People's University of the State of York, and now, after many princely benefactions from sources, the University possesses buildings and equipments t value of £400,000, and an endowment of £1,200,000, wit annual income from all sources of about £100,000. Ther 1600 Students and 150 Professors and Instructors; ever Library has its own endowment, yielding £3000 for the a purchase of books. In Canada, the McGill Universit Montreal is very complete, and its Engineering and Ph buildings were the gift of a private citizen, Mr. McDonald cost £250,000 and £100,000 respectively.

Then there is the Leland Stanford Junior Universi Palo Alto, in California, erected at the sole expense of Se Stanford, and endowed by him in 1885 with property o estimated value of £4,000,000, to which Mrs. Stanfor recently added a sum of £3,000,000, and plans have

Melbourne, a sum of £1305 is still paid annually fro
University chest for Exhibitions, Scholarships and Prize

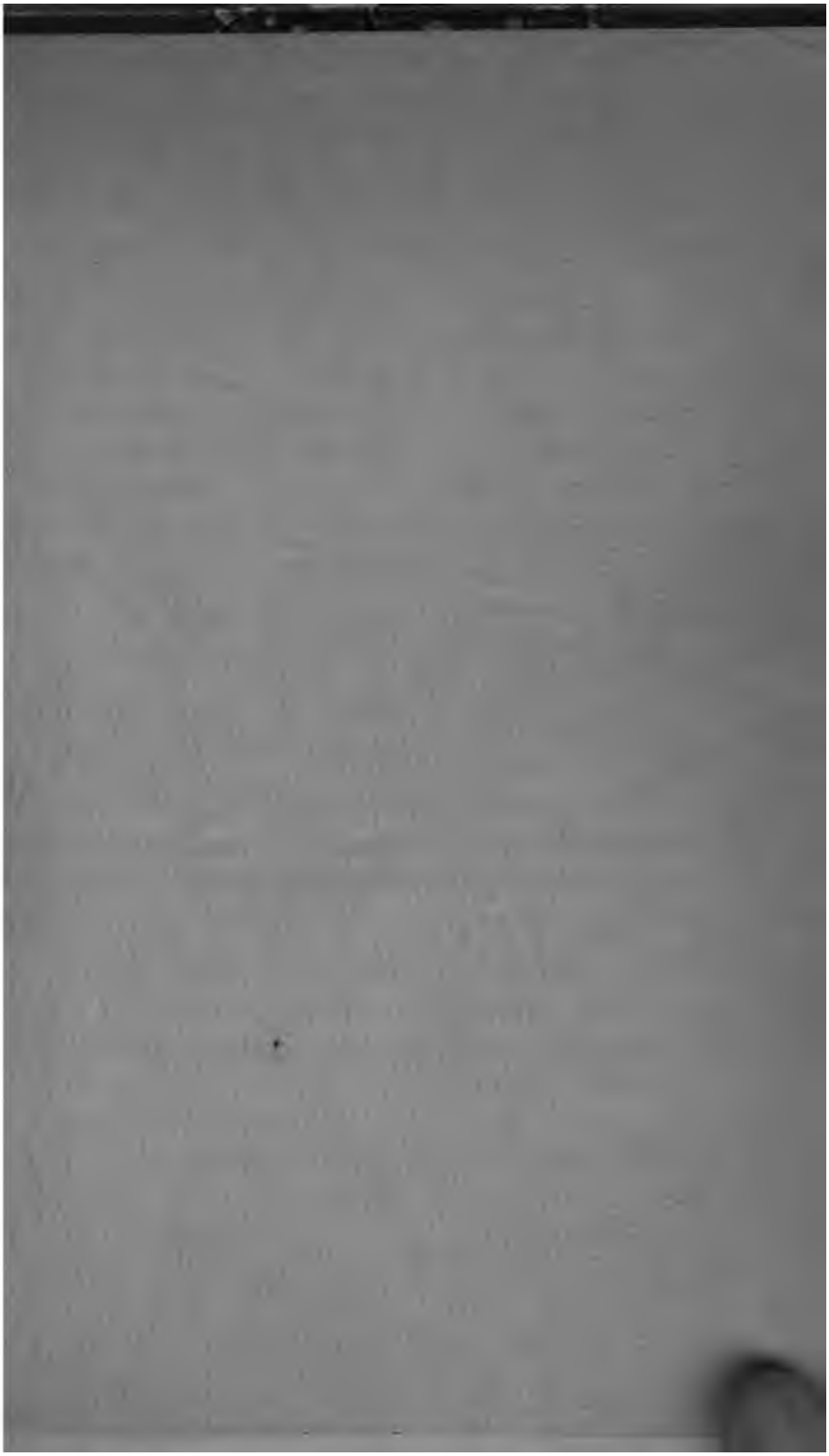
It is also worthy of note that the Bequests and Do
to the University of Sydney have seldom been cumber
conditions, so that the University authorities could apply
to the most useful purposes, every accession of income pro
relief to the University; but, on the contrary, many
benefactions for Prizes and Scholarships in the Univers
Melbourne have been so burdened with conditions that th
not fall in with the University *curricula*, and have
comparatively little relief to the University funds.

The virgin lands of Australia have given to many
colonists enormous wealth. Is there no responsibility to
some acknowledgment? And what fairer or grander return
be made than to provide liberally for the higher educat
the people, to enable the young manhood and womanh
these colonies to obtain the fullest possible mental develop
the richest possible culture.

ANTHONY COLLING BROWNLI

Chancellor.

Ford & Son, Printers, 372 & 374 Drummond Street, Carlton.



ADDRESS

AT THE

COMMENCEMENT

OF THE

Medical School of Harvard University,

MARCH 11, 1868.

BY SAMUEL ELIOT.

PUBLISHED AT THE REQUEST OF THE GRADUATING CLASS.

BOSTON:

PRINTED BY DAVID CLAPP & SON—331 WASHINGTON STREET.

1868.

720.18

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ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN :—

LET us be glad of this opportunity to express our sympathies with the work of this School, to offer our congratulations to those who have given and those who have received the training now completed, and to congratulate the community on the new circle of services to science and to humanity that will spread from this hour's exercises as a centre over the troubled waters of the future. No other academic ceremony merits greater consideration.

Vast as is the knowledge of the universe, wonderful as are all its details, yet more wonderful as are all its laws, there is nothing in its range, from earth to heaven, so constant in its power over us as that branch which acquaints us with our structure, and aids us in its care. Of this the most ignorant want

to know something, and the most learned something more. No visible object excites so much inquiry as the body, no invisible object on the earth so much as the mind, and both belong to medical investigation. The merely intellectual view of the mental functions is less important than the medical, for this embraces not only their operation, but their treatment in health and in disease. Compared with the counsels of the physician when needed, the highest flights of the metaphysician decline in the scale, and all he dares to tell us, marvellous as it may be, exercises no such influence as the information which medicine alone conveys. Nothing belonging to this world, nothing that man has called by scientific name, has the same grasp upon him as the system embodying his own constitution. Even in health, when other interests fill up the fore-ground, this science waits near them and guards against the evil day. All through what Pope calls "this long disease, my life," we need the preventives, if not the remedies which medicine supplies. Other sciences come into play here and there or now and then; into some we never even dip, with some our connection is only transitory, with none is it lifelong, except with this which ushers in our birth, encompasses our early and our later years, and ceases to attend us only when we cease to breathe.

The nature of its associations confirms its mastery.

We flee to it in trouble, when our daily pursuits are suspended, when the bonds between body and soul are loosened, when the peril of our life, or of lives dearer than ours, has transformed the world and ourselves. Nor only in the darkened hour, but in the hour which it has brightened with returning health, medical science brings us joy and hope, and helps us to feel that they are secure. Even when it fails to save the sick, it does not fail to relieve them, or to give the watchers by their bedsides the precious sense that all which could be has been done, and no ignorance or neglect of man, but the will of God, has shortened the days which we would fain have prolonged. Wonderful associations for any science, for anything except religion, to establish between itself and man, sinking into and rising from the very depths of his emotional nature, and mingling a power which is but mortal with that which is immortal in his time of need.

These relations of medicine to man grow out of it as an art even more than as a science. Alone of scientific men, its followers are called practitioners, and their profession is the only one with which practice is a synonymous term. The medical school trains its students for a daily walk among cases continually changing and symptoms continually varying, to which they are to apply their knowledge, not

merely with a presence, but an elasticity of mind, that rises above the dead level of theory. If physicians were classified like politicians, according to their strict or free construction of the law, what radicals would they not be called! The art they exercise lends itself to each individual demand. It plies the stubborn with blisters or purges; it soothes the sensitive with rainwater or the bread-pill; it has one prescription for the sanguine, another for the morbid; it treats all maladies, real or imaginary, without turning a leaf to see whether they come within its constitutional limits. As Southey says, "We are not more surely *fruges consumere nati*, than we are born to consume physic also." The art of healing deserves its rank as an art by adapting its resources to its patients, as if each prescription were the only one it had to give, and each malady the only one it had to cure. Medicine is the modern Proteus; though, unlike the old man of the sea, it changes its form, not to keep back but to give up its secrets. Its compliance with all the wants, all the caprices of our nature, involves heavy demands upon its practitioners. Mrs. Hannah More says in one of her letters, that she was very much puzzled to account for the charm of a physician's visit, until she reflected that he was the only person to whom she could talk about herself without being interrupted or misunderstood.

Few patients are so considerate as one of Dr. Abernethy's, who on her first visit to his office, showed him a wounded finger, and he dressed it without exchanging a word; on her second, held out the finger, and when he inquired "better?" replied "better;" on her last, as he asked "well?" answered "well." "Madam," he exclaimed with an oath, "you are the most rational woman I ever met."

But medicine does not confine itself or its practitioners to merely personal relations with those who seek its aid. Its social relations are large and active. It takes a leading part in many of the chief questions engaging the attention of society, and many of the movements growing out of them are guided by medical men. To it belongs the credit of sanitary reform, at this moment in the forefront of reformatory enterprise, because it begins just where improvement must begin, with the physical condition of those who are to be improved. Medicine the science detected the mischiefs that were running their course, pointed out the sources of corruption, the waste of power, the ruin of character; and when the spell was broken, medicine the art set the ranks in order, then in motion, and led the way to the noblest triumphs of modern civilization. The debt we owe to sanitary reform is incalculable, for it consists not only of what has been produced, but of what has

been prevented, an unknown quantity raised to an infinite power. Moreover, it is to a great extent a reform of those who would never have reformed themselves, and whose rescue from the abuses that rendered them helpless is a work not only of skill and energy, but of charity. That sacred name evokes a cloud of witnesses to the social as well as the personal relations of medicine. Public institutions and private, hospitals and schools, associations of relief in life and in death, all rise up and call the profession blessed. Times are changed since Howard went on his tour through the English prisons, and found some of them under the charge of physicians who were not to be summoned to cases of jail fever. No cases now-a-days, no emergencies, no sacrifices, no demands of men to design or of men to execute a measure of public safety, let the profession go free. Its Dutch brother's lighted candle, inscribed *aliis inserviendo consumor*, is its almost compulsory device.

Such being the relations of medicine and its practitioners to the individual and to society, it is plain that the work of a medical school is a matter of concern far beyond its immediate sphere. What work is there of wider interest? What affects the whole community, what affects every part of the community, more frequently or more deeply than the profes-

sion for which a medical training is the preparation? We owe it to ourselves, we owe it to one another, we owe it to society, as well as to medicine itself, to interest ourselves in medical schools.

To prove that we are interested, let us begin with what always comes easy to human nature, and make a demand. The community has a claim upon the medical school, that its duty shall be well marked out and well carried out, that its scientific and its practical courses shall be complete, its examinations thorough, its degrees significant. Such a claim is good for the community to make, good for the school to be made. It shows a disposition to sympathize quite as much as to criticize, and if it is urged with intelligence and enthusiasm, cannot fail to be beneficial on both sides. See the influence exerted every year by the public concern in the training of a University crew, how it sustains the young champion in his days of preparation, and nerves him in his hour of trial, how it pulls with him at his oar, and brings him in victorious. An equal concern in the training of a medical class would bring about much more valuable results.

Instead of urging its claim, the community sometimes forgets, sometimes even denies that it has any. What need, men say, of so many courses, what need of such collections or instructions as constitute the

school? They but veil the countenance that should itself be studied; they come between the searcher and the truth, and he will find it among the hills or along the streams which know no artificial rules, sooner than in any system ever framed. Dogberry may have gone a little too far in saying that to write and read comes by nature, but that healing comes so is an axiom. Nature is the subject to act, nature is the object to be acted on, and the freer the action the fuller the effect in every form of disease. All the schooling needed, is a seat in a doctor's chaise, or a place at an apothecary's counter, with an occasional glimpse of a hospital, and a finishing course at some liberal institution which gives a degree without much of an examination. In fact, were it not for the brace of letters which antiquated usage requires to follow a physician's name, there would be no necessity for medical schools.

Such opinions as these spring from misapprehension concerning nature. Her sweet and gracious provisions inure to man's welfare in proportion as he enters into them understandingly. He comes to her aid, or rather to his own, first in penetrating, and then in managing her resources, but only on certain conditions, or by certain processes, to which, whatever he sees fit to call them, the character of system properly belongs. The Massachusetts Commissioners

of Fisheries have just made a remarkably valuable report in favor of the artificial breeding of fish, which, as their figures show, is capable of producing nearly two thousand shad, where natural breeding produces but one. It is a striking illustration of the great principle, that nature exerts her powers in favor of those who know them, and how to avail of them. Her operations in health and disease, her functions as a guardian and a healer of mankind, contract or expand according to the narrowness or the breadth of the studies in which they are comprised. Her genuine students are typified in him of the old legend who stood upon the mountain top at sunrise, and heard the vegetable creation returning thanks to their Creator for the virtues with which they had been endowed. He is a type, first in ascending the height, which we may be sure he did either by following a path already made, or by making one for himself according to the rules of climbing, and then, in patient and reverent listening to the voices which rose upon the morning air. "Nature," says Sir Thomas Browne, "is the art of God." Instead of being free from difficulty, instead of being open to every eye that falls upon it, or every mind that brushes by it, nature is full of mysteries, requiring all the light which human research or human system can bring to bear upon them. It is to be investigat-

ed in medicine only under the laws against which some men are fond of inveighing, yet apart from which they find their instincts helpless and their inspirations confused. One might as well prepare for ship-building by a stroll through the woods, as qualify himself for medical practice by hunting after simples or trying experiments upon sick folk. "O Liberty," was the traditional apostrophe of Mme. Roland, "how many crimes are committed in thy name!" O Nature, how many follies, how many injuries, are perpetrated in thine!

The medical profession is doing its part to keep the preparation for it at a point high up above reproach. Its members feel the value of their training to themselves; they desire that their successors shall have one equally, or even more valuable to them. They understand that the example of the heathen patriarch is of no avail, and that the throwing stone after stone over the shoulder will never produce a fully trained physician. They know that the education of the student is to determine not only whether he can be trusted by others, but whether he can trust himself, whether he can meet the calls that will be made on his information, his skill, his quickness of decision and his strength of will. They mean that the discipline they give him, if it cannot obviate the necessity of experience, shall at least render the bit-

terness of certain experiences unnecessary. Nor is the student dull in catching the purposes of his instructors, or backward in working with them. Whatever ideas he begins with, he is pretty sure to end with theirs, and to enter unresistingly upon the inheritance to which they have led him.

The community have therefore no need to urge their claim upon the medical school because its teachers are indifferent or its students remiss. All the public have to do, all that they can do, while their Joshuas fight against Amalek, and smite the diseases with which the land is possessed, is to stay up the teachers' hands, and thus aid health to prevail. Their hopes, their affections, their lives are at stake, and either they or the foe must be discomfited.

This brings us at once to the claim of the school upon the community. The claim is for support, material as well as moral, for the means of attracting and the means of educating students, for the provision of all the resources from which the school's power is to be drawn, and with which the school's work is to be done. Such a claim must be made, and must be allowed, if medicine is to be taught in our schools. It is a claim upon the community, not upon any one class, not upon any one profession, and certainly not upon the medical. If the school turns to this profession for its examples and instructors,

and finds them there, and only there, this is no reason why it should seek its endowments in the same quarter. Rather, if its scientific funds are derived from one profession, its pecuniary funds should come from others, that is, from the public at large. Where would our venerable University be to-day, had she depended upon literary men exclusively to keep up her income? Among the ruins in which she would now be lying, *magna solitudo*, there would be no other students than the few and far between antiquarians who might care to grope about where Dunster suffered, and the one brand was snatched from the red men to wear a bachelor's degree.

The great hindrance to the endowment of any of our schools is their multiplication. Americans scatter their shot, and their institutions go empty of game. Witness the half-manned schools and colleges of every name that crowd upon one another throughout the country, all but fainting from the pressure without and the vacuity within. Witness the imperfectly organized departments, piled upon other departments whose organization is equally imperfect, until our universities fairly reel beneath their burdens. Foundation is a master-passion. To gratify it, a public-spirited man often becomes what may be termed private-spirited, and wastes upon his own name or his own idea an endowment that would do real good

if bestowed on an establishment already founded. Every neighborhood, every communion must have its own seminary, no matter how many of the same grade or purpose may be within easy reach. Let but the possibility of a new foundation show itself, and, like a will o' the wisp, it leads men after it, until they find by sad experience that its light appears only where something is in decay.

They who have the interests of medicine at heart, will not multiply its schools. The more there are of them, the less there may be of it, less of its science, less of its art. Instead of welcoming a new school with enthusiastic cries:

> Quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes,
> Quam sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!

there ought to be as rigid a scrutiny as if the stranger were applying for a safe in the Union vaults. Ask if there is a vacant place, ask if the place being vacant should be given to the applicant, and even if both answers are in the affirmative, it is better for the legislature to be a little coy about creating the new institution. Medical education is a product of many factors; it needs tradition as well as theory, associations as well as elements, indirect as well as direct teachings, such as a school just started, even if well started, can hardly be expected to provide. There is certainly a wiser policy in this matter than

that of the ministry concerning which Sheridan said that it not only ran its head against a wall, but actually built a wall for the purpose of running against it. Let us beware of wall-building in the name of medicine.

The community, if responsive to the claim upon it, will see that the medical schools already founded are fully endowed. Their resources, if at all strained, are to be enlarged; their powers, if declining, are to be recruited; their enthusiasm, if sinking, is to be revived. Nothing short of the support which is their due, will enable them to develop their teaching and perfect their training. As the science embodying, and as the art applying the laws of our existence, medicine has a sort of natural right to lead the way in the advancement of education. In any effort to promote medical instruction, there is a two-fold interest, first for the sake of medicine itself, and next for the example it can set to other studies, and the influence it can exercise over them. Everywhere among our educational institutions, theory is stirring itself, and practice following close, in order to reach a higher level of learning. It is no time for medical education to lag behind. The signal for breaking camp was long since given, the march long since begun by the profession. Shall not the movement be sustained by the public in whose interest it is made?

Society can aid, not only in the movement itself, but in enabling its recruits to join it freely. The medical student is now somewhat overladen. The expense of his education weighs upon him, unless his means are ample, and he must either stagger under the burden, or else drop it before his training is complete. The only practicable method of helping him is by endowing his schools, and just in proportion as their endowments increase, their charges, now necessarily large, will diminish. Education costs a great deal, sometimes to the institution in which it is given, sometimes to the student who receives it, but always to one or the other. Why should there not be free scholarships in medicine as well as in undergraduate studies? Why should not our educational benefactors associate themselves with the work of the medical school as liberally as with that of the college? It cannot be because preparation for the physician's labors is regarded as of comparative unimportance either to himself or to society.

The Medical School of Harvard University has a claim upon the community that began nearly a century ago. Its lines of teachers, its concourses of students, its wise and earnest instructions, its skilful and benevolent services, fill in the long perspective of its history. A throng of figures, some distinct, others indistinct, some ministering, others ministered

unto, rises about us as we look back, and points with common interest to this institution.

> "Say, ancient edifice, thyself with years
> Grown grey, how long upon the hill has stood
> Thy weather braving tower, and silent marked
> The human leaf in constant bud and fall!
> The generations of deciduous man,
> How often hast thou seen them pass away!"

And how often, we may exclaim, hast thou, unlike the lifeless tower, bent thyself to stay the falling leaf, to succor men in their suffering, or soothe them in decline! Past exertions join with present, the labors that have ceased mingle with those that continue, in giving this school a character which is honorable not only to the profession but to the community, nor only to Boston and New England, but to the American name, nay, to the name of man.

Is there no requital for such a service? When the Dean of the Medical Faculty says that "the funds of the school have been chiefly derived from medical men, and in view of this fact, it seems proper to make an appeal for material aid to the community," adding "that something must be done in this direction if the position of the school is to be sustained," it seems as if all that need be has been said in behalf of the institution.

Something more, however, may be taken from the document from which the Dean's words are quoted. It is a report to the Overseers of the University, pre-

sented by their Committee upon the Medical School at the beginning of the last year. It specifies the wants of the school, such as larger space, a fire-proof building for the anatomical museum and library, a fresher collection of books, greater opportunities of instruction in the hospitals, and asks that "steps may be taken to further the interests, not only of the medical profession, but of the public at large, by carrying out the suggestions mentioned." Which of them can be wisely or honorably passed by? If any, not the last, the want of hospital experience, which is far too limited, while, as the report states, two classes of disease are excluded, and three but partially included, under the rules of our public institutions. The hospital which stands side by side with the school, nobly as it has labored and nobly as it has been supported for fifty years, is not yet fully able to realize its name of General. If the plea to be made for it on the score of humanity is not enough, then let it be fortified by another on the score of science. Its work and the school's go hand in hand; the lessons of the lecture room bring relief to the ward, and the courses of the ward bring experience to the lecture room; both serve the community, and both depend upon the service of the community in return. The report to the Overseers was drawn up by the late Dr. J. Mason Warren. If any man could

speak in the cause of medical education it was he; hereditary attachment, personal devotion, judgment, knowledge and skill, gave weight to his opinions while he lived, and give weight to them still. Who could plead for this school, if he could not? Who could form a juster estimate of its condition, who could make a clearer statement of its necessities? It almost seems as if he yet stood among us, as if we saw that kindly countenance and heard that voice which never faltered in support of the hospital, the school, or any other interest of the profession. In a community where he was universally respected, and where he is as universally lamented, his dying service, for such his report was, to the medical school cannot have been performed in vain.

When a pupil of George Lawton, the Scotch Divinity Professor, said he would defend his master against a threatened attack, the Professor replied, "the best defence you can make is to preach well." The best argument for the claim of this school upon the community is that its students are learning well, and bidding fair, when the time comes, to practise well. In a volume recently published at Edinburgh, a physician defends medical students against some of the popular suspicions under which they fall in that part of the world. He particularly denies the propriety of confounding them with Bob Sawyer, whose

standing prescription, we may remember, was the punch bowl, and whose specialty in disease was intoxication. Fortunately for himself, fortunately for everybody, the medical student hereabouts needs no such championship. As self-controlled and self-denying as men engaged in other studies, he respects himself, and wins the respect of those around him. Medicine is not supposed to resemble horse-jockeyship in demoralizing its followers. On the contrary, it raises them, develops them intellectually and spiritually, and opens vast reaches of thought and effort which must elevate those who engage in them, body and mind. So far as the students of this school respond to the inherent influences of its teachings, they are as safe as it can make them, and it is as safe as they can make it.

Gentlemen of the graduating class, to you especially we commend the fair fame of this nursing-mother. Remember her in your toils, in your honors, through your lives. She looks back to many a day like this, and as she beholds another band following after those who have left her heretofore, she yearns to count every one of you among the jewels already hers. Be true to her, and you will also be true to the duties for which she has trained you, true to yourselves, to your fellow-men, to Almighty God.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

IS THE UNIVERSITY ANTI-PALO ALTO?

No. 19

PREFACE.

To the President and Faculty of the Leland Stanford Junior University:

Before voting for Justice of the Peace, I respectfully ask your attention to the statement which follows.

I have not written this in the interest of any candidate.

I intend to vote for Judge Norris for the same reason that Mr. Timothy Hopkins endorsed him, viz: The course of the "Independent" party has put the Town of Palo Alto upon the defensive.

I have been criticised because I advised with Timothy Hopkins in this matter. I fail to see any foundation for the criticism. Mr. Hopkins is the founder of the Town and the largest property owner therein. From the first organization of the Improvement Club, he has been constantly consulted in all matters affecting the Town, and has recognized always the importance and propriety of acting in harmony with those who are working to build up the Town upon proper lines. He has the same right to take my advice that you have not to take it.

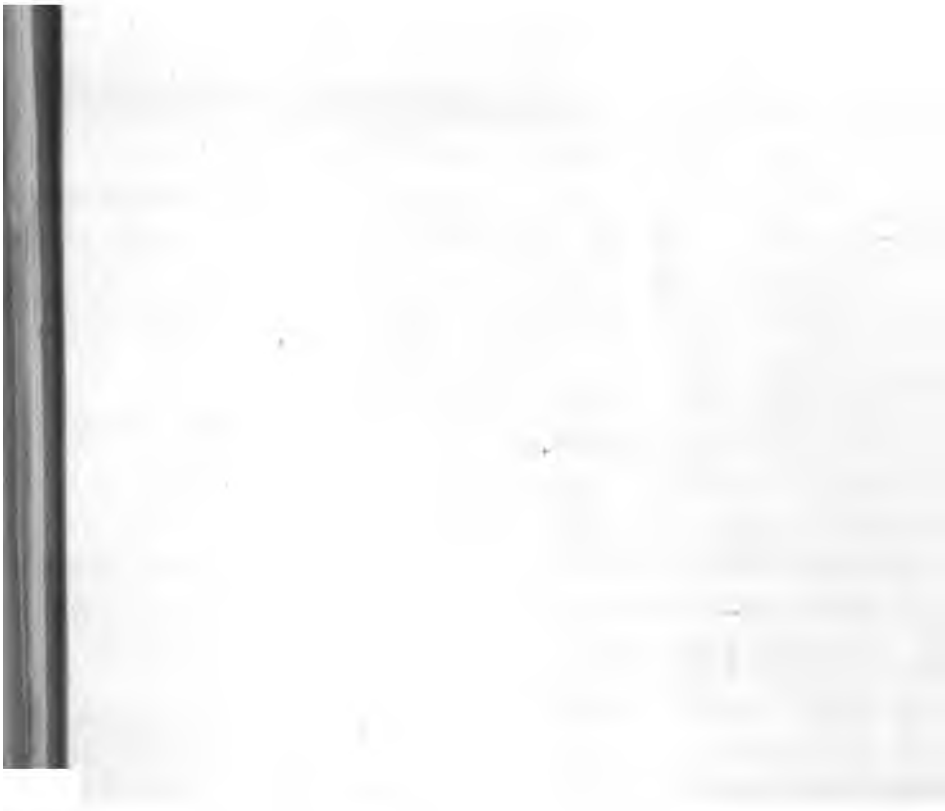
To vote for the "Independent" candidate is to endorse the proposition that all those who have been working, for the last three years, for the interest of the Town, putting their money, time and thought into it, are "boodlers," "corruptionists," "frauds" and "shysters." I am not yet ready to endorse this proposition.

I have prepared this statement without the advice or influence of any other person; I have paid for it out of my own means; I alone am responsible for it.

I believe in progress in the Town, and in cordial relations between the Town and the University.

Very respectfully yours,

JOSEPH HUTCHINSON.



The Independent Candidate.

IS IT FAIR TO PALO ALTO?

Stanford Resists Outside Interference.

Not long ago, the people of Mayfield endeavored to form a corporation and include within its boundaries the Stanford University. The attempt was resented and resisted with vigor and success, president, professors and students joining in the protest. It was not right that the Stanford property should be taxed to pay for Mayfield improvements, or the University people subjected to the jurisdiction of Mayfield officers. It was a question of local self-government.

THE SAME PRINCIPLE,

In another form, is at issue in the present fight over Justice for the Town of Palo Alto. The Judge of the Town of Palo Alto is appointed by the Town Trustees. Their selection is confined to a Justice of the Township resident within the corporate limits. This gives voters, who reside without the corporate limits, owning no property and paying no taxes therein, a voice in the selection

of the Judge whose duty it is to construe and administer the ordinances of the Town. Taking advantage of this situation, an endeavor is now being made to organize the voters of Stanford for the purpose of forcing upon Palo Alto, as Judge, the most obnoxious candidate who could have been selected.

TIMOTHY HOPKINS' TOWN.

In 1889 Timothy Hopkins, Esq., acting under the advice of Senator Stanford, laid out the Town of University Park, now called "Palo Alto." It was his hope that it should become the University Town. To this end he introduced into all deeds of property within the town limits the anti-liquor clause.

TOWN IMPROVEMENT CLUB ORGANIZED.

As the Town grew and public improvements became necessary, it soon appeared indispensable that an organization of some kind must be formed, and accordingly, about two years ago, the Palo Alto Improvement Club was established. This club worked vigorously and with singular harmony, and every improvement within the Town has been under its auspices. It undertook and in the face of a lively fight accomplished the organization of the Palo Alto School District, excluded Chinese laundries from the Town, introduced, so far as possible, street improvements, and spent a large amount of time in thoroughly investigating and obtaining *data* relative to the

water and sewer questions. From the start, Mr. Hopkins was in hearty accord with and assisted this Club in all the steps which it undertook.

INCORPORATION APPEARS NECESSARY.

At a certain stage of the work of the Improvement Club it became apparent that its powers were too limited to enable it to accomplish all that was required for the proper growth of the Town. Incorporation appeared to be the only solution of the problems in hand. Mr. Hopkins, being the largest property owner in the Town and the person upon whom the town taxes would fall most heavily, was first consulted, and, after investigation, he gave the plan his endorsement and support. After a vigorous fight the town was incorporated in April, 1894.

OBSTRUCTION AT EVERY STEP.

At every important step in its work the Palo Alto Improvement Club met with vindictive and obstinate opposition from Gordon Wigle and his sons. This opposition and obstruction, which they put in the way of everything progressive, was so continuous and unrelenting that, in the dictionary of the Town.

"WIGLE" MEANS "ANTI-PALO ALTO."

The Wigles' reasons for opposing incorporation are well known. Chief among them were the two following:

1. A competitor in the lumber business favored incorporation.

2. The elder Wigle himself had not been naturalized long enough to enable him to run for Trustee of the Town, for which office he was a candidate, and it was freely admitted that if the election were postponed long enough to enable him to run, he would then favor incorporation.

A SALOON APPEARS.

One argument offered by its friends in favor of incorporation was that an anti-liquor ordinance could be adopted which would supplement the clause in Mr. Hopkins' deeds. Mr. Wigle replied to this that, while the first Board of Trustees might be opposed to saloons, subsequent Boards might be of different complexion, and thus the saloon element might get a foothold. Strange to say, at the very time that Mr. Wigle was making these arguments, the saloon element *did get a foothold in the Town.* And how? Through Mr. Wigle himself, who, while the campaign was on, introduced J. E. Spencer and his

EMBRYO WHISKEY-JOINT

as *his own tenant.* Explain this how he will, the coincidence is remarkable, and, long before the election came off, it was the common talk that the ardent apostle of Prohibition was giving aid and comfort to the enemy. The fact that he parted with the property under fire is only an admission that he himself realized the situation.

THE EXPENSE, TROUBLE AND CONTENTION

that this same tenant of Mr. Wigle has cost the Town, and his present attitude of defiance to the Town Authorities, are well known, and it is material and significant that he should have endeavored to get his old landlord on the jury to try him, costing the people a challenge to avoid the danger, and that he now supports the Independent candidate for Justice.

MR. WIGLE'S ACTIVE LIEUTENANT

and supporters in this campaign, more violent partisans at certain junctures than himself, were his two sons. It was to be expected that a man who favored incorporation, provided it would be postponed until he might himself run for Trustee, would, at the first subsequent election, appear with himself or some member of his family as a candidate for office.

THE EXPECTATION HAS MATERIALIZED.

The elder son now is offered as the only person fitted to dispense justice in and construe and administer the laws of the Town whose organization he tried to frustrate. And he asks the gentlemen whom he called "boodlers," "corruptionists" and "frauds" to elect him Town Judge and fix his fees, payable out of the town taxes!

A JUSTICE SHOULD BE NON-PARTISAN.

It is a very pertinent inquiry what views of the Town and his neighbors are held by the young gentleman now offered for the office where he will have to construe our laws, settle our disputes and administer justice between man and man.

ANTI-INCORPORATION ORGAN.

During the incorporation campaign Mr. Wigle's organ was the Mayfield *Weekly Palo Alto.* While the campaign was on this paper treated the neighborhood to a series of articles in opposition to incorporation. Mr. Gorton, the editor of this paper, with manly frankness assumes all responsibility for these articles. He says he does not remember that the Wigles wrote any of them, but he admits that while they were being published he had occasional interviews with Mr. Wigle and obtained pointers from him as to the situation. And those who heard Mr. Wigle's speeches will corroborate the statement that the speeches and the articles had a common purpose and inspiration.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

The articles referred to are too long to be published now in extenso. Nor is it necessary to criticise them any further than to say that they were personal in the extreme and attacked all Mr. Wigle's neighbors in Palo

Alto, sometimes by name, including several of the professors of the University. The character of the articles, as well as of Mr. Wigle's campaign, is best shown by their head-lines, which are reproduced below with some short extracts:

(*From the Weekly Palo Alto, March 23, 1894.*)

IT IS WRONG.

The Way Palo Alto People Are Being Gulled.

SOME SECRET SCHEMES EXPOSED.

The Improvement Club Desires to Incorporate the Town and Then Reap the Benefit—Other Doings Noticed.

* * * * *

Any man with the brains of a chickadee cannot fail to comprehend the dirty and rotten work played at the hands of the ring and monopoly element of the myth city of Palo Alto.

(From the Weekly Palo Alto, March 30, 1894.)

BOODLERS.

The Ring and Monopoly Element of Palo Alto.

SULPHURIC ODOR PERCEPTIBLE.

Their Diabolical Plots in Connection With the School House—The Schemers Are Endeavoring to Run the Town.

We can endure for a season the unpleasant odors of the sewer to the north of us, but when our nostrils are greeted with the unmistakable smell of brimstone which emanates from the dirty, contemptible, diabolical transactions of the notorious gang of Palo Alto bandits in connection with the handling of the proceeds of the fifteen thousand dollar school bonds, we take our pencil from its resting place.

These bonds were converted into cash and placed in the hands of the pet corporation for safe keeping. A notice was placed in the local paper advertising for bids from contractors for the building of a public school house. It was required that such bid should be accompanied by a certified check for a sum not less than five hundred dollars. Notwithstanding this stipulation, several parties were allowed to place bids who did not possess in their own right the required qualification. This right was accorded only to those who would enter into such arrangements with this pet corporation for the purchase of materials and such other fa-

vors as were considered necessary to secure for them a certified check from said corporation which furnished these checks to a number of such persons, thereby using the town's money to further their own interests, and to the injustice of the independent contractors, who would not submit to the compromising terms offered by the corporation boodlers.

If such discrimination is made in favor of this certain clique as trustees of the school board in dispensing the school funds, what may be expected of the same parties as trustees to administer the affairs of the town in the handling and distribution of hundreds of thousands of dollars? Yet some of these very men are candidates for office in the coming election for incorporation; but when men are guilty of wholesale imposition upon the community the only redress is for the people to rise up in their might and stamp them out at the ballot box. We say again that for a concern having no money of its own, to use the people's funds to further its own ends by issuing certified checks to figurehead contractors, thereby undertaking to mislead the public, is an outrage too great for words belonging to our vocabulary to express, and we wonder how long this barefaced deception will be practiced on this apparently patient and gullible community.

NOTE.

The "pet corporation" referred to above is the Bank of Palo Alto. The statement that the proceeds of the school bonds were deposited there is false, the law requiring the proceeds of school bonds to be deposited with the County Treasurer. These statements referring to the Bank, all of them untrue, are significant in this

connection from the fact that, just prior to the appearance of this article, one of the Wigle boys came to the bank one afternoon and asked permission to deposit $10.00. The money was taken by the bank officials and a certificate of deposit issued. Mr. Wigle put the certificate in his pocket and then demanded an inspection of the books of the bank, which was promptly accorded him. As soon as he had completed his examination of the books he took the certificate from his pocket, endorsed it and drew out his money. It is hard to find words to properly describe conduct of this character. And when it is remembered that at that time, as now, a number of his professors were stockholders and directors of the bank, the disposition of the young man is well illustrated.

(*Weekly Palo Alto, March 30, 1894.*)

SHYSTER'S RULE AT PALO ALTO.

It is currently reported that three men of Palo Alto who represent the monopoly and ring element of that place endeavored to intimidate the editor of the Palo Alto *Times* should he not stand in with them in the workings of their diabolical plots. The destiny of that town lies in the hands of these men. They control nearly all the news and advertising channels heretofore accessible to Mr. Gilmore, and they made bold and open threats to close these channels should the paper oppose them and their schemes. This high-handed and deteriorating conduct on the part of these "skin-flint" boodlers is far worse.

(*Weekly Palo Alto, April 6, 1894.*)

ITS DESTINY.

What Will Be the Outcome of the Circus?

PROPHECY OF PALO ALTO'S DEATH.

Next Monday is the Time to Seal the Fate of the Neighboring Town.

INCORPORATION LIKELY TO OCCUR.

The Boodler Element Stands With Open Hands to Fleece the Citizens and take the Widow's Mite—Innumerable Debts Constantly Accumulating.

* * * * * * *

On Monday, the 9th of this month, the future destiny of the Town of Palo Alto will be decided. If the people succeed in their desperate struggle in releasing themselves from the relentless grip of this school of infamous landsharks, Palo Alto will be in a position to receive its share of the prosperity with which this section is being visited. If they surrender themselves into the hands of this set of sharpers, who are carrying out their dastardly acts under their various "aliases," the fate of Palo Alto is sealed.

* * * * * * *

Then why the urgent demand for immediate incorporation? It is to furnish further opportunities to this gang of plunderers for operating their nefarious schemes of filching money from the pockets of the tax-payers to feather their own (the boodlers') nests.

Why is it that there is no case in history wherein a town has undertaken to incorporate as early in its existence as has Palo Alto? It is because the county appropriations have been distributed on a fair and just basis, giving each locality its fair proportion, a policy not at all congenial to the tastes of these avaricious Palo Alto incorporation boodlers—these miserable hounds whose voracious appetite for spoils seems to be appeased not until they have gobbled up the widow's mite.

Under the direction of one of these corporation shysters the county gravel appropriated to the streets of Palo Alto last year was placed in front of property occupied by himself. This was done, no doubt, with the knowledge and consent of the so-called Improvement Club, the members of which will constitute the body of officers to manage the affairs of the town. From this a fair indication may be had of the lines upon which the public money will be spent under such administration.

* * * * * * *

Things which have come to the surface during the limited discussion on this incorporation question will thoroughly justify the fair-minded citizens of our neighboring town in passing a verdict next Monday to lay the matter over by voting NO. By this act there is nothing to lose and everything to gain, except to the chosen few who are anxiously working to get a further dip into the public sack. Judging from the past record not a single dollar of the town's money will be expended except passing through the hands of those who are already leading the town to destruction.

(Weekly Palo Alto, April 13, 1894.)

BOODLE WINS.

The Inoffensive Palo Alto Citizen's Soul Not His Own.

TAKES FLOURISH AND MEN DECAY.

The Election Last Monday Tightened the Screws on the Poor Man's Coffin and Placed Fat on the Boodler's Bones.

The battle of the Boodlers has been fought and won at Palo Alto. Victory has perched upon their banner and they rejoice with exceeding great joy. They are exalted beyond expression. And why should they not rejoice? Palo Alto was theirs as the world was Monte Cristo's. Theirs to loot at their leisure; theirs to plunder as they please; theirs by right of conquest and by right of possession, and within its borders their will is law. They have acquired their title legally and no man can dispute it. So let the vultures rejoice; it is fitting that they should. They can afford to exult, for the people by a large majority have made them a present of the town and all within it. The good people have submissively thrown up their hands when ordered, and now nothing remains but to stand quietly while the gentlemanly pirates pick their pockets.

This pocket picking will be done in a strictly legal and orderly manner, for your boodlers are an accomplished set and understand their business thoroughly.

(*From the Same.*)

DESTINED TO DOMINEER.

Men Who Will Serve the People and Themselves.

The following officers were chosen at the Palo Alto election last Monday:

For Trustees, Frank Kramer, Joseph Hutchinson, Dr. B. Parkinson, Prof. Emory E. Smith, F. W. Warren; for Town Clerk, H. W. Simpkins; for Town Treasurer, L. R. Parkinson; for Marshal, W. W. Truesdale.

TOO MUCH FOR HUMAN NATURE.

Can a man in his senses, possessing a reasonable knowledge of human nature, appear with a straight face before a Board of Trustees who have been attacked in the manner above set forth, and ask them to appoint one of the active sympathizers with, if not perpetrators of, the above attacks, as Town Judge, to construe and administer the ordinances adopted by them, and to administer justice in a community as to which he has endorsed the above opinions?

HOW IT HAPPENED.

This remarkable candidature has been brought about by a well-meaning, hasty attempt at reform, undertaken without sufficient conference or union of forces. The present incumbent, Judge Norris, is objectionable to some people. It must be remembered, however, that many of the objections urged against him now were

known eight months ago, when he filed his petition before the Supervisors for appointment as Justice. Opposition might then have been made to him before the Supervisors, but the matter was talked over among members of the Improvement Club, and some of those, who are now violently opposing Judge Norris, advised that it was most expedient not to make any opposition, lest the Town be split into factions and more injury done than good attained. This advice was taken. So Judge Norris obtained his appointment, and he, after incorporation, being the only Justice resident within the corporate limits, the Trustees had no choice but to appoint him Town Recorder, Mr. Cramer, who is now one of the leaders against him, joining in the vote. As Town Recorder the only litigation that has come before Judge Norris has been the prosecution of the liquor cases. In this he stood solidly by the Town from first to last, the mistake in the judgment, upon which Spencer obtained his liberty, being a mere blunder, which caused Judge Norris infinite chagrin and mortification. He is not now the nominee of the Town Trustees or of any Town party. He obtained from the Republican convention his present nomination. Any movement against him, properly laid before the people, with reasons and proofs, would have succeeded. Either Judge Norris would have withdrawn, or the people of the Town would have become solidly united upon some independent candidate—in all probability a student—but the movement, which is now being pushed against him, has at its head such a candidate that many voters in Town, who are thor-

oughly in sympathy with reform in politics, cannot retain their self-respect, and, at the same time, assist in the election of the Independent candidate.

TRUSTEES AND IMPROVEMENT CLUB IGNORED.

The leaders in the movement for nominating the Independent candidate consulted with the President of the Trustees and were advised of the objections to the candidate and urged not to nominate him. Trustee Emory E. Smith was consulted and gave the same advice. Trustee Warren was consulted and said he must support the present incumbent. Trustee B. Parkinson was not consulted at all. Trustee Cramer signed the nomination without any consultation whatever with any of his colleagues upon the Board of Trustees. Then the nomination was made.

THE ONLY EXPLANATION

of this action appears in the statement of one of the leaders to Trustee Emory E. Smith to the effect that the Independents had votes enough to carry their candidate, anyhow. And this may be so, but it can be made out only by calculating upon organizing against the Town the University vote, residing outside of Town, and that apparently is what has been done.

THE TOWN ALWAYS FRIENDLY TO THE STUDENTS.

Is this fair treatment for the Town to receive at the hands of the University?

The people of the Town and their representatives have always recognized the dependence of the Town upon the University, and their attitude towards the students has been of the most friendly nature. Only the most cordial relations have existed. The present Board of Trustees, early in their term, adopted a rule that, in letting out Town work, which could be done by students, other things being equal, students should always have the preference. This has been put in practice in the matter of the sewer system, Messrs. Cuddeback and Drake, two students, acting under advice of Professor Marx, having already done the preliminary work, and it being understood that, if the bond election carries, the further work is to be done under the direction of students, supervised by and with the responsibility upon Professor Marx. The same principle will be applied by the Board in appointing Town Attorney, when such appointment is necessary, provided a student qualified for the position is brought forward. It would be unhesitatingly applied in the matter of the appointment of Justice in this instance, if the course pursued by the "Independent" party had not rendered it practically impossible. So it cannot be charged that the stand taken by the people of Palo Alto against the "Independent" candidate is in any way the sign of hostility to the University.

SLANDERS CIRCULATED ABOUT NORRIS.

The "Independent" candidate and his friends are whispering about damaging stories relative to Judge Norris. The matters charged are of a quasi criminal nature. The method of circulating the charges is worthy

of the deepest condemnation. If there is any foundation for the charges they should have been made long ago, early in the campaign, at first privately to Judge Norris himself, and, if his explanations were not satisfactory, then publicly. They should have been backed up with proofs. If they can at any subsequent time be proved, Judge Norris would stand no better chance of appointment by the Town Trustees to the office of Town Judge than the "Independent" candidate does.

THE PRESUMPTION IN FAVOR OF JUDGE NORRIS.

In all fairness to Judge Norris, this must be said: He denies the charges and challenges those who are circulating them to produce proof, and, until this is done, the stories should no longer be circulated by those who represent themselves as the representatives of reform in politics.

TO SUM UP.

Palto Alto favors student candidates and will always give them the preference.

Palto Alto resents outside interference. She is able to take care of herself,

Palo Alto objects to the "Independent" candidate because his very name is synonymous of

I.

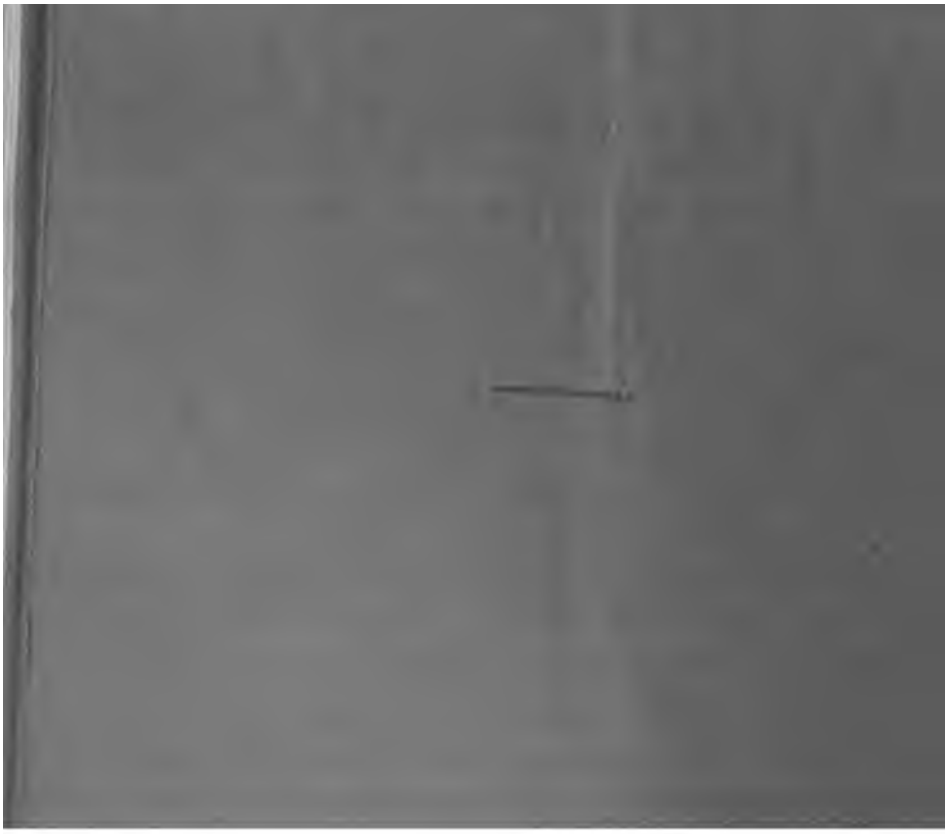
In matters social—constant discord;

II.

In matters of progress—constant obstruction;

III.

In matters political—wholesale slander.



THE MATERIAL NEEDS OF MEDICAL EDUCATION

Address at the Opening of the New Building of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Baltimore, December 21, 1909

By Dr. WILLIAM H. WELCH

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OF THE

COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS,

BALTIMORE.

THE MATERIAL NEEDS OF MEDICAL EDUCATION.

ADDRESS AT THE OPENING OF THE NEW BUILDING OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS OF BALTIMORE, DECEMBER 21, 1899.

BY DR. WILLIAM H. WELCH.

The opening of this new college building, in which provision is made for the teaching of medicine by modern methods, and especially for laboratory instruction, seems to me a fitting occasion to say something concerning the condition of medicine to-day, and particularly the material needs of medical education. In a country where appeal must be made to private beneficence for the support of higher professional education, it is important that the general public should be informed concerning the requirements for the best training of medical students at the present day.

The century now drawing to a close has witnessed a development in medical science and practice far surpassing that of all the centuries which have gone before. Of the half dozen great discoveries which in their day have revolutionized the science and art of medicine, only that of the circulation of the blood belongs to a past century, while surgical anæsthesia, cellular pathology, the demonstration of the germ doctrine of infectious diseases, antiseptic surgery, and the prophylactic and therapeutic applications of the principles underlying arti-

facial immunity have all been introduced during the nineteenth century. As regards the last, a partial but important exception must be made in order to include the introduction near the close of the last century of vaccination against small-pox. Around these great discoveries, and for the most part dependent upon them, cluster a host of others, and all have combined to change the whole face of medicine. In all directions the stock of medical knowledge has been vastly increased, so that no man can grasp it all, and only a relatively small part can be taught to the student of medicine. Specialization with all its advantages and its defects has become a necessity both in the scientific and the practical sides of medicine. Each of the fundamental medical sciences is now cultivated both for its own sake as well as in its relations to other branches of medical knowledge. We know a great deal more than our predecessors of the structure and workings of the body in health and in disease. Our insight into the causes of disease, particularly of infectious diseases, has been deepened, and hand in hand with this increase of knowledge, although not in direct ratio to the scientific advance, has expanded the power of the physician and surgeon to prevent and cure disease. The ability to prevent the accidental infection of wounds has greatly advanced the surgeon's art and made it one of the most rewarding and beneficent of human pursuits. Not less striking is the increase in our power to check the introduction and spread of many infectious diseases. Civilized countries with proper systems of public sanitation need have little fear of the pestilences of former times. With the diminution in mortality from the diseases of early life, the incidence of disease is changing toward a preponderance in the diseases of old age. While on that side of the physician's activity with which the public is most familiar, the daily routine of general practice, the progress may seem less apparent, still here also there has been great improvement in methods of diagnosis and in the means of treating disease, even if we must admit that the untrained physician can now do harm in a greater variety of ways than formerly.

But it is only in contrast with past knowledge that the progress seems so great. If we consider what remains to be accomplished,

and what we may reasonably hope will be attained, we may well believe that the veil has been lifted only in relatively small part from the mysteries of disease and its prevention and cure. We cannot doubt that we shall advance further along paths already opened, as for example, in the direction of the specific antitoxic and antiparasitic treatment of infectious diseases, and that vistas of knowledge and power now undreamed of will be disclosed.

The great advances of the present century are due not to any improvement in the mental powers of man, but to the general recognition of the truth that the only way to learn the facts of nature is by observation and experiment. This scientific method of investigation seems to us so obviously the correct and fruitful one that we can only marvel that it was not equally apparent to our predecessors in past centuries. Of course from the most ancient times there have been those who have contributed to natural knowledge facts based upon observation, experiment and just inference, and we are the heirs of great scientific truths which have thus come down to us from past ages. But nothing is clearer to the student of the history of medicine and of science than the prevalence of the opinion, until comparatively recent times, that the secrets of nature could be learned by contemplation and reasoning. This erroneous belief, combined with reliance upon the authority of tradition or of some great name, was the great obstacle to progress and the source of the many speculative systems which are so difficult for us at the present day to comprehend, even if we think it worth while to make the attempt.

I cannot better illustrate the value formerly attached to mere reasoning as a basis of scientific discovery than to quote from one of the Essays of Jean Rey, Doctor of Medicine, entitled "On an enquiry into the causes wherefore tin and lead increase in weight on calcination," first published in 1630. These essays are of such interest and importance in the history of science that they have been recently republished by the Alembic Club. Rey to some extent anticipated the results of Lavoisier a century and a half later. His work is a curious combination of well chosen experiments and of metaphysical speculations. The quotation to which I call your attention is as fol-

lows: "My chief care hitherto has been to impress on the minds of all the persuasion that air is heavy, inasmuch as from it I propose to derive the increase in weight of tin and lead when they are calcined. But before showing how that comes to pass, I must make the observation—that the weight of a thing may be examined in two ways, viz., by the aid of reason, or with the balance. It is reason which has led me to discover weight in all the elements, and it is reason which now leads me to give a flat denial to that erroneous maxim which has been current since the birth of Philosophy—that the elements mutually undergoing change, one into the other, lose or gain weight, according as in changing they become rarefied or condensed. With the arms of reason I boldly enter the lists to combat this error, and to sustain that weight is so closely united to the primary matter of the elements that they can never be deprived of it. . . . But not presuming that my statements are on a parity with those of Pythagoras, so that it suffices to have advanced them, I support them with a demonstration which, as I conceive, all men of sense will accept. Let there be taken a portion of earth which shall have in it the smallest possible weight, beyond which no weight can subsist; let this earth be converted into water by the means known and practised by nature; it is evident that this water will have weight, since all water must have it, and this weight will either be greater than that of the earth, or less than it, or else equal to it. My opponents will not say that it is greater, for they profess the contrary, and I also am of their opinion; smaller it cannot be, since we took the smallest weight that can exist; there remains then only the case that the two are equal, which I undertook to prove."

This somewhat lengthy citation, upon which no especial comment is necessary, will suffice as an example of the study of nature by unaided reason and dialectics, and the interest attaching to it is enhanced by the circumstance that Rey himself made ingenious experiments in natural philosophy, and that he belonged to the century of Galileo, Kepler, Newton and Harvey, a century which has often been compared with our own in respect of interest in scientific discovery.

Rey, in the foregoing quotation, incidentally furnishes an illus-

tration of another characteristic of past systems of doctrine in science and medicine. You may have noticed that he implies that, if he possessed the authority of Pythagoras, his statements would be accepted without demonstration. This blind reliance upon authority is exemplified by the saying of one of the great Arabian physicians: "If Aristotle and Galen are both of one mind we may be sure of the truth; but if they differ, it is very difficult to determine what is true."

Systems of medical doctrine, which profoundly influenced practice, were thus constructed upon the basis of speculation and traditionalism. The Galenic system held sway for nearly fifteen hundred years, and was displaced by other systems which, although marking an advance in knowledge, rested largely upon dogma. The eighteenth century is often characterized as that of the great medical systematists, and during the first four decades of the present century German medicine was bound in the trammels of the so-called philosophy of nature. The greatest factor in releasing medicine from the shackles of dogma and turning it into the paths of science, was the foundation of cellular pathology by Virchow in the middle third of the present century.

It is of course not to be inferred that the exercise of reason, logical deduction and imagination is not essential to fruitful scientific inquiry. Indeed, it may well be, as pointed out by Clifford Allbutt in his admirable address on "Medicine in the Nineteenth Century," that we could learn much from the old dialecticians in the use of the weapons of logic, but experience has demonstrated that the real basis of progress in medicine, as in all the natural sciences, is the discovery of new facts by means of observation and experiment. It is by following the path thus indicated that medicine has advanced with such rapid strides during the latter half of the present century.

These great advances in medical knowledge, secured by the employment of truly scientific methods of investigation, have largely increased and modified the material needs essential for the promotion of medical science and for proper systems of medical education. It is of the highest importance that the general public, at least in this country, should be informed of the necessities of medical teaching and investigation, for if they want good doctors they must help to make them.

Medicine can no longer be adequately taught by the simple appliances of former times. As long as medical knowledge was essentially a body of tradition, about all that was necessary in the way of material equipment was a lecture room. Until comparatively recent times, the student was brought into direct contact with the objects of study only in the dissecting room and occasionally in the clinical amphitheatre. Gross human anatomy, being for centuries the only subject which the medical student could study by laboratory methods, acquired an exceptional position in the scheme of medical education. At the present time, instead of a single laboratory subject, there are at least eight subjects which require special laboratories or divisions of laboratories, and some of these are no less important than normal anatomy. These subjects are microscopic anatomy and embryology, physiology, physiological chemistry, pharmacology, pathology, bacteriology, hygiene, and clinical microscopy.

The lecture room no longer holds the dominant position. While the purely didactic lecture still has its place in medical teaching, this place is relatively a subordinate one.

It is important that the student should be brought into closer relation with the patient than was formerly the case. It is not sufficient that he may witness from a bench in the amphitheatre a surgical operation or the examination of a patient. He should be admitted to the dispensary and to the hospital wards, and should have opportunity to make personal examinations in cases of disease, and to follow the course and management of medical, surgical and obstetrical cases. He should be subjected to practical tests of his knowledge and power before he is launched upon the community as a qualified practitioner.

Now all of this requires suitable preliminary education, a period of professional study of at least four years, many and well-equipped laboratories, hospitals controlled by the medical schools or at least conducted in sympathy with the needs of medical education, and a large body of well-trained teachers. The greatest, although by no means the sole, difficulty in meeting these requirements of higher medical education has been the establishment of suitable laboratories. While we have a few good laboratories, there is no medical school in this

country fully provided with all the laboratories which it needs, and there is no single medical laboratory which possesses an endowment adequate to its needs.

A properly equipped laboratory requires suitable work rooms, a corps of trained teachers and attendants, supply of the material to be studied and of all the instruments, reagents and appliances needed for this study, access to books and journals, and funds for the purchase of fresh supplies and new instruments when needed.

The construction, equipment and organization of a first-class medical laboratory involve an outlay of money beyond the resources of a medical school dependent for its existence solely upon the fees of students, even when combined with the generous gift by the teachers of their services. In the State-supported universities of Germany three times as much money is devoted to the maintenance of laboratories as to the salaries of teachers. All honor to our own medical schools which, without the aid of State or of private endowment, are doing their best under great sacrifices to meet, so far as is within their power, the needs of modern medical education by provision for laboratory instruction and research! Of this generous and enlightened policy we witness a notable example here to-night in the opening of this building with its well-arranged laboratories.

The most remarkable progress in medical education in this country during recent years has been along the lines of more extended and improved methods of laboratory teaching, and I am inclined to think that the instruction in the scientific subjects of the first two years of the medical course, which was formerly the weakest, is now the strongest feature of our system of medical education. Those engaged in teaching these scientific subjects give in general a much larger share of their time to the work of instruction than do the teachers in the practical branches, and their courses are often better organized and more efficient than the clinical courses. The real aim of medical education should be the training of practitioners of medicine and surgery, and the benefits of thorough grounding in the fundamental medical sciences are to a large extent sacrificed if the student does not find in the latter two years of his undergraduate study well-conducted

clinical courses which afford opportunity for the practical application of knowledge previously acquired in the laboratories.

This is not a suitable occasion to consider the difficult problems pertaining to the arrangement of the medical curriculum. The entire content of medical knowledge is now so vast that only a relatively small part of it can be taught during the period of undergraduate study. Exactly what subjects shall be taught, in what order and how they shall be taught, and what amount of time shall be devoted to each are important matters, but they lie outside of my present theme. Of this much I am convinced, that it is of the first importance to impart to the student something of the scientific spirit, a real, living knowledge of the subjects studied, and the power to use the instruments of his profession. Thus trained, it lies within his power to continue an education which can only be begun at the medical school. It is in these directions that the educational value of laboratory methods, whether employed in the laboratory proper or in the hospital, is the greatest. In the laboratory the student learns the fundamental importance of accurate observation and experiment, here he finds that only that knowledge is living and stays by him which comes from direct contact with the object of study, and not from being told about it, or reading about it, or merely thinking about it, and here he becomes acquainted with methods and instruments essential for diagnosis, and, therefore, for intelligent treatment of disease.

There is or should be no real distinction in the spirit and methods of study between the laboratories of medical science and the hospital wards. One of the most important directions of development in our modern hospitals has been their close alliance with laboratories. The establishment of clinical laboratories in connection with hospitals has been, on the one hand, a great relief to other laboratories, and on the other, has conduced to improved diagnosis and more careful study of cases of disease, and has supplied admirable opportunities for the instruction of students. The resulting benefits to the patient have been inestimable.

As I have already indicated, the development of medical laboratories, from their modest beginnings with those of Purkinje and of Liebig in the second decade of this century, has been the natural and

inevitable result of the genuine scientific spirit, which distinguishes nineteenth century medicine from all that preceded it, and which has made it a biological science. The important discoveries in medicine during the century have been, on the one hand, the incentive to the foundation of laboratories, and on the other hand, and in still larger measure, have been the outcome of activities within laboratories.

While the expenses of a first-class laboratory are considerable, if we could estimate the benefits to mankind derived from investigations conducted in medical laboratories, all of the money ever expended for laboratories would seem in proportion to these benefits very insignificant. While it would be absurd to attempt to estimate in money the value of scientific discoveries, it would not be difficult to show that all the money ever expended for the promotion of medical and biological science has been repaid a thousandfold by the results of laboratory investigations in one department alone, namely, that relating to microscopic organisms, as witness the rescue of the silkworm industries of France by Pasteur's studies, the advantages to breweries, dairies and agriculture from the study of fermentative processes, the introduction of antiseptic surgery by Lister on the basis of Pasteur's discoveries, the saving of untold thousands of human and animal lives by preventive and curative inoculations in diphtheria, rabies, anthrax and other infectious diseases. The most important of the discoveries which have led to such results as these, and have opened up new vistas in medicine, have been made in Germany and France, where scientific laboratories are most numerous and best supported.

The last two decades of this century have been periods of unsurpassed fruitfulness in medical discovery. There is no reason to suppose that this activity will not continue and bring forth results beside which our present attainments will appear small. What patriotic American would not rejoice to see his country take a position commensurate with its size and importance in this great forward movement of medical and biological science? The surest and probably the only way to secure such full participation upon our part, is by the endowment of medical education and research.

There may have been in former times little that was attractive to

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